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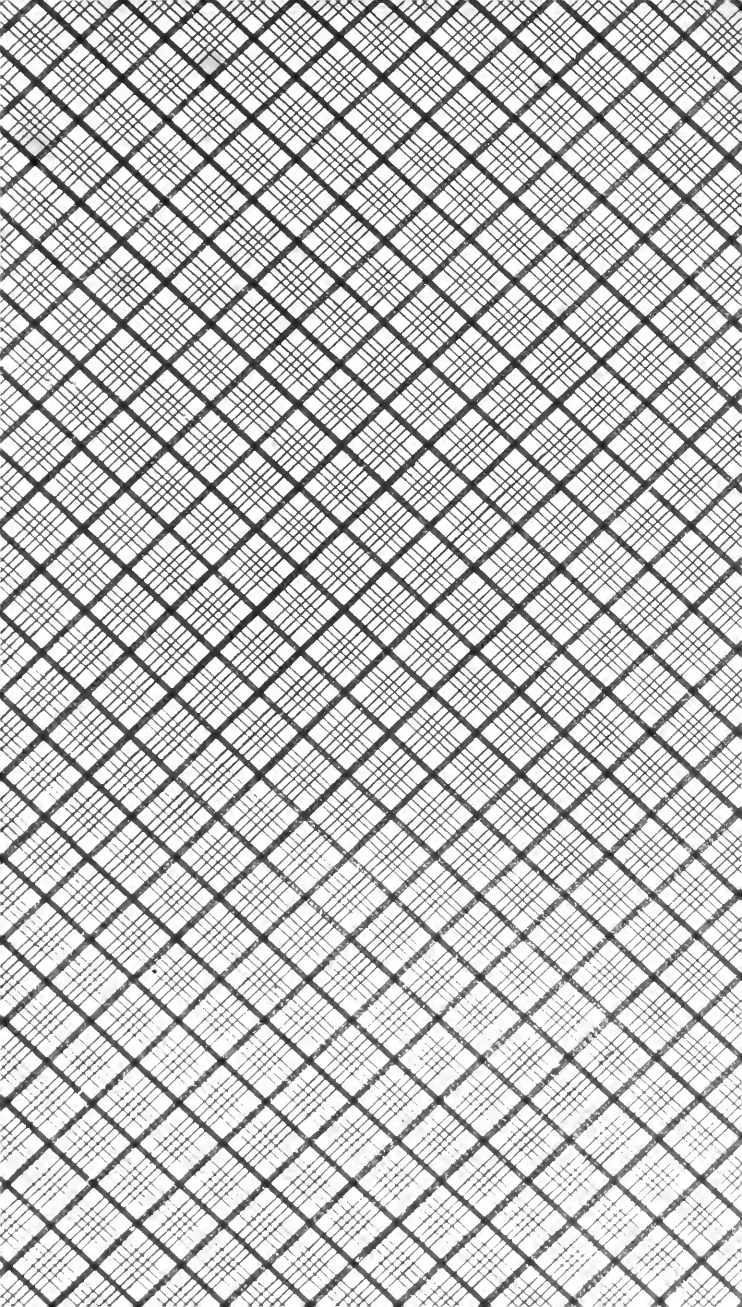




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No.

REVELATIONS

OF

AUSTRIA.

BY

M. KOUBRAKIEWICZ,

EX-AUSTRIAN FUNCTIONARY.

EDITED BY THE AUTHOR OF

'THE REVELATIONS OF RUSSIA,' "EASTERN EUROPE.

AND THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS," ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

T. C. NEWBY, 72, MORTIMER ST., CAVENDISH SQ.

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P R E F A C E.

THE Editor has been induced to append a few notes, and these prefatory remarks to this translation of Mr. Koubrakiewicz's "Revelations of Austria," (or, *Mysteres d'Autriche*,) because, whilst it throws light on one of the despotisms of Eastern Europe, it is calculated to mislead the public as to others. It derives importance from the fact that there exists no work by any competent writer ; nor, indeed, any work whatever which enters into

detail on the subject of which it treats. Mr. Koubrakiewicz held office for many years under the Austrian government, in Gallicia, or Austrian Poland, which he principally describes. No writer has therefore yet appeared better qualified to depict its administration and condition. The general agreement of his statements with the private information furnished from that country to the Editor, are to him a guarantee of the good faith of his author's statements. Mr. Koubrakiewicz's work is, therefore, the best on a country which recent events have invested with a painful interest. He affords us the best evidence to be obtained respecting the character and effects of the Austrian despotism, since born and bred under its rule, and long initiated into its service.

As long as he describes what he has personally seen, and treats of those subjects with which his position has given him intimate acquaintance, his testimony is peculiarly valuable, and we may attach to it all the weight due to the narration of a straightforward eye-witness. It is in this point of view that the Editor especially recommends this book; though he sees reason to differ, both in matters of

fact and of opinion, with its author, wherever making any departure in his work from direct testimony, whether to indulge in speculative reflections or in political remarks, respecting countries beyond the sphere of his personal observation. The Editor has no wish to identify his sentiments with those expressed by the author, especially when diverging into religious or political discussion, or entering upon questions of political economy. Indeed, the notions of Mr. Koubrakiewicz on all these subjects, but especially the latter, appear to him, crude and jejeune.

Political economy is a science, it should be remembered, of which the fundamental truths are only now beginning to be popularly disseminated amongst ourselves ;—a species of knowledge in which France is still twenty years behind us, and Eastern Europe twenty years behind France.

The bitter hostility of Mr. Koubrakiewicz to Catholicism is not unnatural in a Polish patriot, accustomed to see Rome itself, and the dignitaries of its Church in Austria, conniving with its Roman Catholic Prince to keep his subjects in misery

and subjection ; but this author does not do justice to the patriotism of the inferior clergy ; and in the inferences which he draws from his parallel between the Greek and Romish Churches in favor of the former, he is historically unjust.

Catholicism has been used as an instrument both to oppress and to uphold civil liberty and national independence. The Greek persuasion has almost always been appropriated by despotism. If we judge of the influence of both from their results, with the single exception of the kingdom of Greece, and the hills of Montenegro, all traces of freedom have been obliterated wherever the Greek faith is established ; whereas the great majority of the Roman Catholic populations have secured representative forms of governments.

The dignitaries of the Roman Church sink, in Austria, into tools of its despotism ; but its humbler members, at least in Austrian Poland, conspire against its oppressors in defiance of their superiors.

In Russia, the Greek Church is a still more passive instrument in the hands of power ; and if less formidable from want of life and energy, it shews

the same spiritless submission through all its grades.

The Editor does not mean to argue that the Greek Church is inimical to the existence of free government ; on the contrary, he knows of no form of the Christian Faith which is not congenial to it ; but only to point out that there exists no evidence to shew that it is more so than the Roman Catholic.

It is true, paradoxical as it may appear, that the ultra-Catholic feeling of the Poles may prove one of the most powerful instruments of the regeneration of Eastern Europe ; yet at the same time seriously threatens to retard its progress. That is to say, that the profoundly religious feeling of the masses in Poland offers the most powerful lever for raising the Polish people against the three oppressing despotisms ; and that hence its existence amongst the lower classes is, in a political point of view, a most fortunate circumstance. This feeling should, therefore, always be appealed to in directly addressing the Polish people ; but wherever it pervades, to any exclusive extent, the more enlightened classes, or the organs of their opinion, it cannot fail to have an unfavourable effect upon the pre-

judices of their fellow Slavonians, suffering, as the Editor has shewn elsewhere, a common oppression, and constituting one vast brotherhood united by successive shades of assimilation, as regards their language, character, and customs, and which nothing but difference of religion interrupts. It unfortunately happens that Polish patriots are apt to regard the political utility of Catholicism from one or other of these points of view, making it their exclusive sheet-anchor, or considering it solely in the light of an apple of discord thrown between the suffering populations of the Slavonic countries. Mr. Koubrakiewicz has adopted the latter opinion.

The Editor has next to remark upon a feature characteristic of Polish writers in these days of national oppression, but which, without comment, would go far to deceive the reader.

Mr. Koubrakiewicz, when denouncing the Austrian government, whose misrule and duplicity he has personally witnessed, continually exclaims, that things are better even in Russia (which he does not know) than in Austria, which he does. There exists no sort of doubt as to the place to be assigned

in the scale of evil to the three despotisms, which afford a sad illustration of the comparative degrees. If we brand the rule of Prussia as bad, we must unquestionably take that of Austria as worse, and of Russia as worst of all. Yet it has never happened to the author to hear any Pole, whose knowledge was only local, whether from Prussian, Russian, or Austrian Poland, give any detail of the oppression of his portion of the country, but what he declared it to be worse than in the other states. These people remind one of the untravelled inhabitants of northern climates, who are always telling you in the dog days, that it is hotter than on the coast of Africa, or than in the East Indies, whose sun they have never tried.

Mr. Koubrakiewicz, in the hostility which, as a Slavonian, he evinces to the Germans, who, either in the form of dynasties or as the tools of despotism, so much oppress his people, speaks only the feeling common to the Slavonians throughout Eastern Europe. After shewing that the partition of Poland was effected solely by sovereigns and ministers of German origin, when he alludes to Russia, he treats

of it as an unhappy Slavonic country governed by a German family and its Germanic satellites; and this distinction between the governing and the governed, he does not subsequently specify, so that an English reader may be often led to refer his observations about Russia or the Russians to their government, which all the while he classes with the German objects of his aversion.

This anti-German feeling is peculiarly characteristic of public opinion at the present day throughout the Slavonic countries, and cannot excite surprise if we consider the ostensible foundation which facts afford to this prejudice in a hasty people, who do not reflect that the system under which they suffer, though chiefly upheld by Germans, is the offspring not of Germanism but of despotism.

In the historical disquisition and allusions into which the author enters, he is often incorrect and injudicious. The array of historical facts which have taken place beyond the memory of the present generation, in which he indulges, is as unfair against the Austrian, Russian, or Prussian governments as it would be against the French or

English, and constitutes no valid argument, because affording no proof of their present character and spirit.

With regard to the conduct of the last Diet, which ever assembled for the whole of independent Poland, and respecting the reception given to the Cossac or Ruthenian populations, by the Russian government, when alienated from Poland by religious persecution, his impressions appear to be wholly erroneous ; and as respects their present treatment no less so. Amongst the appendix will be found, in illustration of this remark, the account of the constituent Diet and of the behaviour of Russia to the Cossacs, from several sources, but chiefly from the pen of Lelewel, the most erudite of Polish historians.

Notwithstanding the imperfections of this book, which are of little consequence—since no one will probably open its pages in search of religious, philosophical, or general political knowledge—it perfectly fulfils its object in giving a minute and trustworthy picture of the administration and condition of the Austrian Empire, and the Editor considers himself

justified in introducing it to the notice of the reader, as adding fresh light to the darkness which has so long envelopped the condition of those fair and populous regions oppressed by the three great European despotisms.

*The author of "Revelations of Russia,"
"Eastern Europe and the Emperor Nicholas," &c.*

R E V E L A T I O N S
OF
A U S T R I A .

DYNASTY AND EXTERNAL POLICY OF AUSTRIA.

OUT of twenty-one dynasties which govern and oppress Monarchical Europe, or that reign and do not govern, there are eighteen of German origin.

Amongst these the first place is occupied by the dynasty of Habsburg, from which proceed the Sovereigns of Austria since the

13th Century, of which Adolphus, Count of Habsburg, was the founder, and which reckons in all, according to the genealogical almanack of Saxony, forty-five legitimate members, of whom twenty-seven are Princes and eighteen Princesses.

Absolute sovereigns formerly bore the title* of Despot†, and after that of Kaiser,‡ the two first of these titles became rather a detestably ignominious, than an honourable epithet, in consequence of the abuses committed by absolute Monarchs; the title of Kaiser, on the contrary, was sanctioned

* *Tyrant* is derived from the Greek word *Τυράννος*, and signifies King or Prince.

† *Despot* comes from *δεσποτης* and signifies Sovereign Ruler.

‡ *Kaiser* comes from the Greek word *Καίσαρ* which is translated into French by *Cesar*, into Polish by *Cesarz*, into Russia by *Tsar*, into German by *Kaiser*.

by the French, Polish, and Russian Scripture, which enjoined to render up Kaiser, (*Cæsar*, *Cesarz Tzar*) that which is Kaiser's, and to render up to God that which belongs to God, thus the Austrian sovereigns have taken, and retained up to the present, this latter title of Kaiser ; and their wives that of Kaiserinn, the princes and princesses bearing that of Archdukes and Archduchesses.

I must beg leave to differ from the French usage respecting the title given to the sovereigns of Austria, and to bring it nearer to its proper etymology and signification, both because these Austrian sovereigns themselves take the title of Kaiser—and because throughout Germany and Austria, where given to them, it is associated with certain ideas which do not attach to that of Emperor.

The Kaiser has a right over the lives and fortunes of his subjects ; an Emperor has only the command of the army. The dynasty of Habsburg being only national for a sixth part of the Empire, its rule must necessarily be absolute, and all other forms of government, whether monarchical or democratic, are incompatible with its interest and its existence.

Hence we see with what intelligence and subtilty the Kaisers force the temporal and spiritual governments, to look upon them, not only as the centre of religious and political absolutism, but also as the basis of monarchies in general.

All the princes in Europe make pilgrimages to Vienna, that they may be introduced into the sanctuary of their salvation, initiated into the mysteries of their monarchical and absolute government, and

led to sign an act which the Kaisers succeed in persuading them is useful and necessary to the existence of all Monarchs, but which only protects and guarantees the house of Habsburgh in Hungary, in Poland, in Bohemia and in Italy.

According to an organical statute of the family of Habsburg all the Arch-dukes are obliged to learn a trade, the Kaiser, Francis the First, was a sealingwax maker, the present Kaiser, Ferdinand the First, is a turner.

This statute is intended to maintain in the family a positive and speculating spirit.

The Kaiser is the chief of his family, he is obliged to maintain all its legitimate members, but on the other hand they cannot contract any legitimate marriage without the consent of their head.

Alliances contracted by the Arch-dukes or Arch-duchesses without this consent are

called *Morganatic* the children born of these unions bear the titles of Barons or Baronesses.

The Archduke John married, *Morganatically*, the daughter of a Post-master, by whom he had two little barons.

The present Kaiser, Ferdinand the First. it is said, displayed, up to the age of eighteen or twenty years, some cleverness and independance of character; it was presaged of him that when he became sovereign he would not follow the immutable system of his father, Francis the First, so much so that he was disliked both by his father and by Metternich, who were desirous that Francis Charles, the second son, who inherited all the systematic qualities of his father, should succeed to the throne.

Being one day out hunting in company with his father, Mr. Metternich and other

sportsmen, the Archduke Ferdinand narrowly escaped being killed, by a shot fired at him, but the assassin was never discovered.

Another time an Austrian officer fired a pistol at him, within a few yards distance, but he missed him.

This man, when discovered, was found to have had an access of madness.

Different reports were circulated in Galicia as to the true authors of these attempts, called *Austrian accidents*.

It is said, indeed, that the conjugal impotence, epilepsy and imbecillity of Ferdinand, are only the consequences of such *accidents*.

Tenacious constancy in good and evil fortune, a thorough knowledge of mankind, the conviction of human weaknesses and guile—the wisdom of appreciating

all religions as essential springs of internal and external policy—the total absence of generosity, of noble sentiments of sympathy, tenderness and pity for human nature, or any love of hollow glory ;—the suppression of any ill-regulated spirit of vengeance, beyond what the clear-sighted measures of that cold egotism, called politics, allows—the art of pretending a confidence without reserve, in the fidelity of subjects, and in their own divine right and title thereby dissimulating that general and ever watchful mistrust which results from the intimate conviction that they only govern by the right of strength—these are the hereditary qualities of the dynasty of the Kaisers in general, or distinctive of their system of government.

The only passion they know, and that which absorbs or replaces all others, is the

love of, or rather the rapacious and insatiable thirst for gold, which they look upon as their God, and as the only end and aim of their government and Conquests. The most wretched parsimony, carried to the extreme of sordid avarice, is only the consequence of this predilection.

The Kaisers themselves keep the key of their treasures ; they alone know the sum total of the millions hidden in their cellars.

The reader will see by the faithful picture I shall attempt to draw of the Austrian administration in Galicia, an administration which almost wholly resembles that of the other provinces, excepting the Archduchy of Austria, how infinitely clear sighted and circumspect the internal policy of the Kaisers is, how favourable to the dynasty, and, in some measure, to the

German metropolitan provinces, whilst it is burthensome, oppressive and destructive to the non-German provinces.

The administration of the Austrian Empire, situated in the midst of Europe, is less known than that of those states, separated from Europe by two thousand leagues of sea. Some persons think that the different States which compose the Austrian Empire are governed in the same manner. Strangers, not even excepting the Ambassadors, who only see Vienna, the German Provinces, and the Archduchy of Austria, believe that the inhabitants of the other Provinces not German, enjoy the same institutions, the same rights ; that they have the same degree of prosperity as the privileged German race, monopolising all the higher grades, the dignities and functions,

military, civil, or ecclesiastic, and forming the nucleus of the Empire.

It is scarcely known, in Europe, that from six to seven millions of German Austrians, having a Kaiser at their head, treat, as their slaves, nearly thirty-two millions of human beings, of another race than their own.

The English Colonies and other States are at least protected, in some measure, by the distance of the mother country, and find a certain independence in the impossibility which the government finds of unceasingly governing them. The Austrian colonies, Galicia, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Hungary, Transilvania, Dalmatia, Croatia, Italy, have not that advantage; they are exposed to, and within reach, of the rapacity of the "*Austrian vermin*," who

infect and slowly consume them, without interruption or intermission.

The Austrian oppression in the non-Germanic Provinces, surpasses by very far that of the Sultan or of the Tsar, because it attacks both body and mind, with a superior intelligence, a studied method, and unshakable perseverance. In Russia and in Turkey, only the body—the brute mass—suffers from unintelligent and disorderly oppression, which is often without any premeditated political end; because the government of these countries not being raised to the level of European civilization, and not having any profound knowledge of the intellectual strength which alone governs the world, know only how to reach the brutalised masses.

Certain geographers, historians, and authors

of universal dictionaries, do not hesitate to repeat, after the German works, that Austria is governed by an Emperor who exercises absolute power, but that he generally makes use of that power with extreme mildness. The government of the Kaisers passes, in Europe, for a moderate, absolute government, so true is it, that the cold, systematic, civilized despotism of the Kaisers, prevails, in the minds of those who do not know it thoroughly, over the ill-regulated despotism, oftentimes self-injurious and always impolitic, of other absolute sovereigns.

The error committed by strangers, proceeds from their not distinguishing the Austrian administration in the German Provinces, from the administration practised in the non-Germanic districts.

The absolutism of the Kaisers is besides palliated and upheld by the censured Ger-

man press, which, whilst it reproves the Austrian dominion in Germany, as tyrannical and unpopular, believes it to be a duty to call it Paternal towards foreigners. The Kaisers in Germanising Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Poland, Hungary, Transylvania, Croatia, Italy, &c,—in subjecting more than thirty millions of foreigners to the yoke, thereby serving and defending the integrity of the Germanic Empire, and the despotism of its Princes, whilst at the same time extending the Germanic territory, language, and servile spirit, appears to merit the gratitude of all Teutons. The German Austrians are proud of the dominion of their masters over foreign nations, without reflecting that they themselves are the first enslaved, forming only an abject dulocracy, whilst these foreigners serve their masters as instruments to keep them in the degrading servitude in which they linger, and

the spoil which their masters tear from the stranger, serving only to increase the means of the despotism oppressing them.

The Austrian Empire exercises, for many reasons, too great an influence in Europe, not to make it desirable to acquire a complete knowledge of its power and internal policy.

It is only by ascertaining the interior organization of a state, that a sane judgment can be formed with regard to its internal policy.

A nation like an individual can only learn the degree of its moral or physical strength, by comparison with that of other nations.

The absolutist governments enjoy this advantage amongst others, that they can study the administration, the power or weakness of constitutional States, the cha-

racter of their inhabitants, and even the revenues of courts, and the condition of cabinets, and parties, by reading the newspapers, and other publications, or by attending to the parliamentary debates ; whilst the Constitutional Cabinets are either divested of such information, or forced to seek it in censured writings, which are invariably either false or inexact.

The mystery enveloping the springs of the policy of the Kaisers, forms a great portion of their power ; they have risen to their present eminence and are maintained there by the sole agency of the political skill displayed in the management of their affairs. All the conquests made by other people, and sovereigns are due to the bravery of their armies—bought with blood and treasure. The Kaisers owe their numerous acquisitions to marriages, treaties, and for the most part to their perfidies.

They have rarely been fortunate in their expeditions, when openly combating with military strategy and tactics.

They have rarely won victories, but almost always succeeded by calling into play the springs of hidden influences; and by employing a subterraneous strategy have generally triumphed over their adversaries.

They have never despaired, however bad their position. More than once, during the last two centuries their monarchy has been on the point of crumbling in the dust, through the loss of unfortunate battles, and more than once they have come out triumphant, by following those tortuous paths, where cunning is of more avail than strength.

It does not accord with the views of this essay to recapitulate the military exploits

or the solitary diplomatic acts of the Kaisers ; therefore, I shall only cite some few historical facts in corroboration of my assertions, as to the nature and efficacy of their political means and resources.

King Henry the Fourth of France, proposed to wage war against Austria, and on the eve of his projected campaign was struck by a hand which some mysterious power had aimed against him. Austria was saved by the blow of a dagger. The people suspected the Kaiser and the Jesuits.

After the revolution of July, and during the revolutionary movements in Italy, the Kaiser Francis the First conceived suspicion against his grandson, the Duke of Reichstadt, son of Napoleon, and that grandson died immediately. Reports were spread in Vienna that he was poisoned.

The Protestant league menaced the ruin

of the Austrian monarchy. The celebrated Austrian general, Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland, raised, at his own cost, an army of fifty thousand men, and saved the throne which proved ungrateful, and once freed from the enemy, requited ill his services.

Soon afterwards, Gustavus Adolphus the hero of the seventeenth century, and chief of the league, recommenced hostilities. The Kaiser Ferdinand, entreated General Wallenstein to take again the command of his army, and in order to prevail upon him to do so, promised him the gift of an hereditary province, of another conquered province, and of the Duchy of Mecklenberg.

He accorded him the title of Commander-in-Chief, with unlimited powers in the army.

Wallenstein, placing no faith in the pro-

mises of the Kaiser, fought inertly, and thought only of the means of forcing him to keep his word in case of victory.

He even proposed to conclude a lasting peace with Sweden and the German provinces, and if the Court of Vienna opposed it, to join himself to the Allies, and as he secretly expressed himself before Arnheimer, "*to send the Kaiser to the devil.*" (Den Kaiser zum teufel jagen.)

Of this the Kaiser was duly informed.

His position was most critical; the defeat or the victory of his army, was equally dangerous to him.

Under these circumstances, Francis Albert, Duke of Lauenburg, an Austrian general, deserted from the Imperial army, and went over to the inimical camp of Gustavus Adolphus, where he took service.

By that fawning and hypocrisy, so fami-

liar to German nobles, Lauenburg won the heart of the hero and became his intimate favorite.

At the battle of Lutzen, Gustavus-Adolphus and his favorite the prince Lauenburg lost themselves and fell into the hands of some Austrians in ambuscade, who massacred the king with sabre cuts and gun shots, but allowed his companion to pass safe and sound. The prince of Lauenburg, who after this action repaired to Vienna, without loss of time, received from his Kaiser in recompense the command of the army of Silesia.

But with the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the throne of the Kaiser was not secure from all danger ; Wallenstein yet lived, and troubled the repose of Ferdinand. A captain and six Austrian halberdiers, under the command of Butler, a Colonel and faithful servant of his Kaiser, entered the bed-

chamber of Wallenstein at midnight, and murdered him and his companions, the Generals — Kinski and Terzki. They were scarcely out of the castle, when the air resounded with the cries and lamentations of the wives, children and servants of these unhappy victims.

Ferdinand, upon receiving the intimation of this news, shed tears, conformably to the precepts of Machiavel, to prove his innocence, and afterwards ordered three thousand masses to be said in the churches of Vienna, for the repose of the souls of the victims, and recompensed the heroic devotion of the tools, his faithful servants, by distributing amongst them chains of honor, (*gnodenketten*), Chamberlains' keys, diplomas, degrees, dignities, and knighthoods, (*rittergutes*.)

Another historical fact no less remarkable

and characteristic, is too recent to be ignored by any one.

That, however, which merits the attention of the whole world, and which has struck few investigators, is the connection premeditated and foreseen between the events realized in 1814, and 1815, as being natural effects of facts accomplished in 1810, their determining causes.

The friendship of German Princes had always been found more dangerous and disastrous to France and its sovereigns, than their enmity.

After a thousand combats lost, the vanquished and humbled Kaiser changed his policy.

From the most implacable enemy, which he was, he all at once became, in appearance, the staunchest friend, the nearest relative of Napoleon.

As it has been said, "amongst the baggage taken by assault from the Capital of Vienna, Napoleon found the Archduchess Maria Louisa," daughter of the Kaiser ; he repudiated Josephine, his guardian angel, and married the Archduchess, the devoted political instrument of Austria, and the cause of his degradation, and of the humiliation of France.

It would be wholly to misunderstand the nature of man, to suppose that a vanquished enemy could so readily become the sincere friend of his conqueror.

It was self deception to imagine that the Habsburgs were not seeking the means of revenging their humiliation, or that they sincerely gave up their alliance with England.

In Paris there was a great rejoicing over this marriage, which was looked upon as the

ultimate and consolidating result of the victories obtained, and as establishing French supremacy on an unshakeable basis. There was rejoicing also in Vienna over this "*mesalliance*," which was looked upon as a necessary sacrifice, as a political embryo, which was only engendered with the view of undermining the power of France, of bringing about her fall, and of raising Austria, and with her despotism.

Germans were heard, immediately after this marriage, to predict the downfall of Napoleon, and the ruin of France, so fully were they convinced that this marriage was only a snare on the part of their Kaiser. Those who were more immediately about the person of the Emperor Napoleon, and took part in public affairs between 1810 and 1815, must agree that without this marriage, and without the inspirations, and en-

couraging influences, direct and indirect of the Germans, the chivalrous adventure of the Russian campaign of 1812, would never have been undertaken. Buonaparte, as a simple French citizen, representative and chief of the generous French Nation, was the first captain in the world, the first French citizen, and in some measure the defender of all the oppressed. In his enterprises he consulted only his own intelligence and the welfare of France—his country; he distrusted all princes crowned by the grace of God; and was ever on his guard.

As son-in-law to the Kaiser, ennobled, metamorphosed, and received within the pale of German aristocracy, he consulted aristocratic appearances, consulted his own interests, personal and dynastic; consented to restrain France within its former boundaries under Louis the Sixteenth, provid-

ing he was left upon his Imperial throne. He became the mere paladin of his wife, and sank into the position of the last of legitimate princes. To obtain their simulated confidence, he was obliged to accord his own sincere confidence, to render himself worthy of being their chief, or even their equal, he was obliged to become the champion of sovereigns, to surround himself with clergy, and be the faithful companion and zealous defender of all despots.

After this marriage he appeared no more the vanquisher of Jena, of Austerlitz and of Wagram.

His genius was effaced, because he ceased after it to exist, or to combat in that democratic element which constituted the strength of the French Nation. Whilst only their tool he imagined himself to be the master, or at least the equal of those six-and-thirty reigning Germanic sovereigns,

who accompanied by a crowd of non reigning princes and princesses, without even a claim to a throne, being illegitimate, as (born of Germanic Morganatic marriages) and surrounded by artful nobles congregating from all the corners of Germany came to bow the knee to tender him at Dresden their homage, and to engage him, by the protestations of their fidelity, to undertake the adventurous enterprise. He repeated even ingenuously to his wife, and in a strain of gallantry, “we men rule the world, but we are ruled by the women.”

The plan of the Campaign fixed upon in 1812, by the Slavonians of the north, called by the Greek Sarmatians *σαρμα* (sweeping) for their defence, was the same followed by their ancestors, the Slavonians of the South, summoned by the Greeks, Scythians, *σχέθης* (or fierce men) at the time they were

successively invaded by Cyrus, Darius, and Alexander the Great.

As they struck into the interior of the country, the grand army of Napoleon advanced, burnt their towns and villages ; and thus left the elements, the cold, scarcity, and famine to combat for them. The remainder of the grand army was destroyed by the Austrians, Prussians, and the other coalized states. Charles the Twelfth was vanquished in the same manner, in 1709.

The Austrian monarchy having been re-established in its ancient splendor, and the Archduchess Maria Louise having played her part, she returned to Vienna, to receive from the holy alliance, the Duchy of Parma, as a recompense for her generous devotion. To prove that her marriage with Napoleon was a mere diplomatic affair, she sent him, when at the Island of Elba, an act of divorce.

The ennobled Napoleon had not sufficient pride, moral courage, or self-love, to repay contempt by contempt. He had boldly demanded a divorce from the chaste and virtuous Josephine, the French citizeness, whose love was past all proof, and who died overwhelmed by grief at the misfortunes which fell on her ex-husband ; yet he refused to accept the divorce from the Austrian subject Maria Louise, who despised him, and who was so anxious to offer her charms to another.

Alexander the Great perished a victim to his debaucheries ; Charles the Twelfth to his generous temerity ; Napoleon succumbed to his insolent pride.

Besides the millions which France had paid to the Coalition under the title of military contributions and indemnifications of all kinds, of which Austria had its part ; the Kaiser Francis had secretly demanded

of Louis the Eighteenth, and of Prince Talleyrand, and had received the sum of twenty five millions. Princes have been known to betray their relatives, and even their own children, but they had never before been seen betraying them from mere mercenary considerations. It is to be hoped therefore for the honor of Princes and Kaisers, that these twenty-five millions demanded and paid were so in satisfaction of some other secret claim.*

In general, the outward policy of Austria is patient and exempt from passion. It neither attempts to defend humanity, nor disinterested friendship, nor national dignity or honour.

The Kaisers only fight to augment or pre-

* History of the Treaties of 1815, by Cretineau Joly.

serve their treasure ; and even then they very rarely act alone, ostensibly, or directly.

They possess the gift of exciting other more ardent or vain sovereigns and people, by insinuations of their impotence, and above all by their own simulated poverty, to fight in their interest ; whilst they only interfere publicly to divide or to take exclusive possession of the prize.

To possess themselves of Ancient Poland, the Kaisers made use of their daughters, whom they gave as wives to the Kings of Poland ; of the Pope, and Jesuits, whom they disposed of as suited their purposes, and afterwards of the Poles and their Kings in like manner. The most fearful period of the Polish history is that when an Austrian Archduchess sat upon their throne. By turns, the unhappy Poles were excited,

sometimes to attempt the conquest of Sweden, sometimes to that of Russia, sometimes to the murder of those of their brethren, who remained faithful to the religion of their fathers, and would not recognize the sovereignty of the Pope and the Jesuits.

In order to invade western Poland, the Kaisers inspired the Poles with the prospect of identifying themselves with Lithuania, by removing their capital towards the East, transporting the government seat to Warsovia, and abandoning Cracow, the cradle of Poland, the birth-place of its hereditary Kings, and the Polish cradle of art and science, in fact, the Polish Pantheon, full of the historical memories of the past, and mysterious destinies of the future.

Schiller, the celebrated author of the *Thirty Years' War*, says, that Sigismund, who waged war against Gustavus Adolphus, son-

in-law to Habsburg, and aided with his ships the Austrian General Wallenstein, during the siege of Stralsund, was only a tool in the hands of the Kaiser, wherewith to bear down German liberty.

As soon as the Poles had become accustomed to look upon Lithuania, as a principal and component part of Ancient Poland, the Kaisers placed a German Princess, of Anhalt-Zenbst, afterwards known by the name of Catherine II. upon the throne of Russia, and then excited the Russians to reclaim Lithuania, and the Russian provinces, exciting at the same time the Poles to defend them by promising them succour in case of need.

Meanwhile they persuaded France and England that Poland, united with Lithuania, would become too preponderant.

Whilst the Polish noble Militia (*Schlachta*)

commanded by the Jesuits, went forth from their country to dispute Russia with the Russians, the Germans themselves made an inroad into ancient Poland itself, and occupied the two capitals of Cracovia, and Warsovia, to the great astonishment of the Schlachta Sovereign, who believed them to have come to aid him, and who looked upon them as his most faithful allies. They however succeeded in persuading the Schlachta that the existence of Poland was absolutely necessary to the equilibrium of Europe, and that anarchy was the principle of life.

The Abbé Mably, in that part of his works in which he speaks of the condition of Poland in 1726, says to the Poles with much sagacity and judgment : “ The King of Prussia, and the Empress Queen Maria-Theresa, rule over you, no less than Russia, and these two powers would make you feel the weight of

their authority if the Czarine had not taken upon herself that noble employment. She is only the tool of her two allies, who are very glad that another should commit for them the injustices and vexations which they deem useful to them." Bernardin de St. Pierre says also that Catherine II. was only a tool of the German Courts of Austria and Prussia. This Sovereign only disembarrassed herself of her Russian husband, that she might be able the more easily to deliver over the whole of Ancient Poland to her countrymen at the expense of Russia.

Some German and also Polish authors pretend that it was Russia who first conceived the project of dividing Poland.

But this assertion is entirely void of foundation and rejected by history.

In the Seventeenth Century (1658,) the Swedes invaded a portion of Poland. The

Kaiser, a declared ally of the Poles, immediately occupied the ancient capital town of Cracow. Whilst the Schlachta Sovereign was felicitating himself on Austrian fidelity, and never doubting but that the Kaiser his ally had entered Poland on purpose to save him — the German Count Stippenback, who served under the King of Sweden, proposed by secret negotiation to the Kaiser, the King of Sweden, and to the Duke of Prussia, better known as the Elector of Brandenburg, (a faithful vassal of Poland,) that they should by way of putting an end to their quarrels, divide those countries which were the theatre and occasion of them, and form a league mutually to maintain each other in their occupations.

They accorded to Russia no participation in the dismemberment. Russia had not the

slightest knowledge of the plot formed against Poland.

This negotiation when discovered by the French Ministry filled with alarm the republican Court of Warsovia, which hastened to announce to the Militia Sovereign, that the anarchy of his government would deliver over Poland a prey to its neighbours, as soon as they could agree amongst themselves about the division of so rich a spoil.*

Fonfrède in his exposition "of the republican Institutions of the Monarchy," page 306, says also : "It was Leopold, Emperor of Austria, who principally intrigued to prevent the crown of Poland from becoming hereditary with the view of keeping that

* Rulhière's History of the Polish Anarchy.

valiant nation in a state of misfortune and anarchy. Thus, absolutism protected republican Institutions." And page 317, the same author says : "Russia and Prussia, following the example of Leopold of Austria, protected the republican Institutions in Poland that they might end by taking from that unhappy country all means of resistance."

It is thus a well attested historical fact, that it was the Kaisers who first conceived the project of politically murdering Poland, and they will be the last to fight for its resurrection, because they know, and are well convinced, that the existence of their monarchy is incompatible with the existence of independent Poland. Many causes hindered and turned aside for a time the committal of this crime. But the indomitable courage of the Schlachta Militia, and their patriotism which showed itself even

through their political and diplomatic ignorance were the principal obstacles. The Germans understood perfectly, that to possess themselves of Poland, they must commence by corrupting, enervating, and demoralizing the Schlachta, the Pretorians, or Janissaries of Poland. This they effected in the course of the Eighteenth Century by placing successively on the Polish throne two German Princes of Saxony, under the names of Augustus II. and Augustus III.

They gave as wives and comptrollers to the first a German named Eberhard Marchioness of Brandenburg, and to the other an Archduchess of Habsburg. It was an easy matter for the German Sovereigns to corrupt the manners of another nation. Germany governed by thirty-six despots, has thirty-five times as many vile mercenaries, and servile, cringing Barons without

dignity or morality, than any other monarchy. To avoid suspicion and calm the disquietude of the Poles, the Germans persuaded them that the independence of Poland is absolutely necessary to the well-being and balance of all the states of Europe, and that anarchy constitutes the vitality and strength of republican government.

The free election of the kings of Poland was one of the principal causes of its anarchy and weakness.

On this account the treaty of alliance between Catherine the Second, and Frederick the Great, contains, amongst other things, the following clause. “ As it is in the interest of his Majesty, the King of Prussia, and her Majesty the Empress of Russia, to use every means and effort in their power, to maintain the freedom of election in Poland, and that no one should be allowed to render the said kingdom hereditary in his own

family, his Majesty the King of Prussia, and her Majesty the Empress of Russia, have mutually made the most solemn promise to each other, by this secret compact not only that no one shall be permitted to strip the Republic of its right of free election, or to make the Kingdom hereditary, under any possible circumstance, but also to impede by one common accord, the views and designs of any party, tending to produce this result, as soon as they shall be discovered, and even to have recourse, if necessary, to armed force, to guarantee the republic from the overthrow of its constitution and fundamental laws.

The constitution, therefore, and the republican spirit of the Sovereign Schlachta had no terrors for crowned heads, since a German prince and princess undertook to support and maintain them.

Poland having become enfeebled by cor-

ruption, and exhausted by wars with Russia, the Empress Maria Theresa commanded the literati of Vienna to examine the books and diplomas, to discover what claims she could make to this country.

At the same period the Austrian engineers were surveying the Polish territory about Novytarg and Czoroztyn, drawing lines, and setting up posts bearing the imperial arms.

These operations caused so much alarm to the Polish king Poniatowski, that on the 20th October, 1770, he wrote in the following terms to the Empress Maria Theresa—

“ Honored sister !

“ The sentiments of loyalty that I have at all times professed for the House of your Imperial Majesty, and I may also add the personal esteem I have for your Majesty's private virtues, are too well known for you to be ignorant of them, and as I have always hoped to find

one of the staunchest friends of Poland, in an Empress whose own equitable, firm, and yet mild government has always excited deep sentiments of admiration in me, it is in the spirit of mutual confidence, that I address myself especially to your Royal and Imperial Majesty, because the maintenance of the privileges of my crown, oblige me to demand of your Majesty, why your generals and engineers have ordered lines to be drawn in the environs of Novytarg, and planted stakes, bearing your Imperial Majesty's arms, in a territory which has belonged to Poland from time immemorial, and been conceded to her without giving rise to the slightest dispute."

To this letter Maria Theresa replied on the 26th of January, 1791, that as soon as the re-establishment of peace between the Turks and the Russians, and the total extinc-

tion of the interior disturbances of Poland had taken place, she would willingly turn her attention to, and endeavour to decide the limits of this republic, and of her kingdom of Hungary ; that they would then finally settle these notoriously uncertain and long contested limits ; that, nevertheless, she would now, at once, declare her resolution to claim, by virtue of her legal right, and the conditions stipulated at the time, the district of Tips, with all its dependencies ; and, as far as concerned the rest, that for the maintenance and the guarantee of past, present, and future rights, the operations already mentioned in his Polish Majesty's letter had been of necessity commenced, and must, by the same necessity be continued."

Rulhière, in his History of the "Anarchy of Poland," remarks, that this line of conduct in so conscientious a Queen, appeared

bold to the Empress Catherine, and, if Frederick can be believed, it contributed mainly to its final partition.

Thus it will be seen, that it was still the Kayser Habsburg who was the first to invade Poland, with the predetermined and eventually realized intent of dividing and appropriating it.

Frederick, of Prussia, and Catherine the Second hastened to imitate the Empress Habsburg. Each seized on that part of Poland which best suited him. Here is the declarations of the three German Sovereigns, signed by the German Baron Stackelberg, the lasting monument of an unparalleled crime in history, which even shook to its foundation European policy.

“ The neighbouring powers of Poland have
“ been so often led into disturbances ex-
“ cited by insurgents in that kingdom, that

“ the remembrance of the past had already
“ determined them, when the throne became
“ vacant by the death of Augustus the
“ Third, to occupy themselves very seriously
“ with the internal affairs of that kingdom.

“ Influenced by this consideration, and at
“ the same time anxious to prevent the fatal
“ dissensions which might arise through this
“ last vacancy the Court of Petersburg used its
“ utmost endeavours to effect an unanimity
“ of opinion in the choice of the candidate most
“ deserving of the throne, and most likely
“ to promote the happiness of his fellow
“ Citizens and of the neighbouring states.

“ At the same time, the Court of Peters-
“ burg took upon itself to amend several
“ abuses in the national constitution. The
“ Court of Berlin has seconded the steps
“ taken by its ally, and the Court of Vienna,
“ wishing to unite its efforts in the success of

“such praiseworthy views, and in order to
“avoid the danger of perhaps increasing
“difficulties, by increasing the number of
“those mixed up in the interior affairs of
“Poland, has thought fit to observe a strict
“neutrality, not only in this respect, but
“with regard to the war which has just been
“kindled between Russia and the Ottoman
“Porte. From the combination of these
“measures, the satisfactory result of the
“free and liberal election of the reigning
“king Stanislas Augustus, as well as many
“other useful regulations has been pro-
“duced.

“Everything appeared concurring to ensure
“a future peace to Poland and her neigh-
“bours based upon the most solid founda-
“tion. Unfortunately, just as every thing
“might have been hoped from the present
“state of things, the spirit of discord.

arising among a part of the nation destroyed in a moment all these auspicious hopes. The citizens armed against each other ; factions usurped the place of legitimate authority ; abuses, contempt of the laws, perversion of order, and of public safety arose on every side.

Justice, the police authority, trade, and even the cultivation of the soil ceased together.

So many great and important causes will not allow his Majesty the King of Prussia, her Majesty the Empress of Hungary and of Bohemia, and her Majesty the Empress of Russia, to postpone any longer taking decisive steps in so critical a juncture.

These powers have therefore taken on themselves without further loss of time, and with one common accord, to restore tranquillity and order to Poland, and to esta-

blish on a solid foundation, the ancient constitution of the state and the liberty of the nation.

But in preventing, as they are now doing, by the well-timed and friendly interference caused by the good understanding which at the present moment exists between them, the ruin and the arbitrary division of this kingdom, they may not however always be able to count on a similar degree of success, and they therefore make claim to several considerable possessions of the republic, as they cannot abandon them completely to the chance of events, and they have therefore decreed and determined among themselves to turn to account their ancient and legitimate pretensions, which each of them is prepared to justify in its proper time and place.

In consequence, his Majesty the King of

Prussia, her Majesty the Empress of Hungary and of Bohemia, and her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, having communicated mutually to each other their pretensions and claims, and mutually verified them, will take each an equivalent proportion, as also immediate possession of those parts of Poland, the most convenient for establishing through the future, between them, a more safe and natural boundary, each of the three powers purposing to give subsequently an account of their share of the partition in consideration of which their Majesties renounce all rights, claims, pretensions and accumulations of interests.

The following words attributed to Catherine explain satisfactorily the division of Poland, and delineate fully the characteristics of the European Cabinets.

She observed to the Prussian Prince-

Henry, "*I Will frighten Turkey ; I will buoy up England with the hope of an advantageous treaty of commerce—do you try to bribe Austria to keep France quiet.*"*

In thus glancing at the dismemberment of Poland, one is led to think that the three despoiling powers mistrusted the aboriginal and native Russians. All the principal actors in it are purely Germans, who rivalled each other in their trickery and rapacity.

Russia merely furnished soldiers to fight, and money wherewith to corrupt the sovereign Schlachta. Here are the names of the principal actors ; the Emperor of Hapsburg, the Electors and the Kings of Prussia, and

* See the *Memoirs of the Revolution of Poland* found at Berlin. (Paris, 1806.)

Brandenburg, the German Princess Anhalt Zerost, known by the name of Catherine the Second, the Baron Stackelberg, the Count Stippenback Igelstrom, the two Kings of Saxony, miscalled Poles, Augustus the Second and Third, the Count Bruhl, &c., &c.

The evident aim of the Germans was to deliver over Ancient Poland bound hand and foot to Austria and Prussia; therefore, this first division did not satisfy the cupidity of the King of Prussia, who wished to become master of the mouth of the Vistula, and to seize on the commercial towns of Gdanisk, surnamed Dantzic, and of Torun, surnamed Thorn, &c.

To attain this end the Prussian manifested to the insulted republic of Poland his sincere desire to contract a more strict alliance with it. The ambassador of Prussia, Mr. de Lucchesini, haughtily disavowed, in the name of

his master, the idea of a new partition; he maintained, *that the intention of Frederick William was to restore to Poland its former splendor, glory and freedom; and to guarantee Europe from the ambitious designs of the barbarians of the North.* He even insinuated that now was the time to throw off allegiance to Catherine, during the wars in which she was engaged with Turkey, and threatened by Sweden.*

King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, and a few other Poles formed the resolution of uniting with Russia, and of accepting the offensive and defensive alliance which she proposed to the Polish monarch. In abandoning to Russia, Lithuania and the Ruthe-

* See the tableau politique, &c., by Mr. de Segur.

nian Provinces, the Poles might with her assistance have torn from the Germans the Polish Provinces of which they had taken possession, thus re-establishing ancient Poland.

This policy which was good then does not cease to be equally so in our own time. The Poles ought only to attack and disquiet the two German powers, Austria and Prussia, who will loosen their hold on Poland when they perceive on the one hand the impossibility of keeping the Polish Provinces which they have overrun, and on the other, the possibility of the fusion of the Russians and Poles.*

* The bitter feeling common to the Slavonians of Eastern Europe is manifest in this passage, but M. Konbrakiewicz, if speaking the sentiments of his race, in alluding to a fusion between the Poles and Russians, refers to Russia under a free and national government. EDITOR.

Excited however by the hypocritical declaration of the King of Prussia, placing too much confidence in German sincerity (*Deutsche Biederkeit*) and consulting only their passions, the Poles rejected all the propositions of Russia, and delivered over Poland by the constitution of the third of May, 1791, to the German dynasty of Saxony, stripped the Polish peasants, who are the only basis of Polish nationality, of their property in land which they cultivated and possessed—adjudicated this land to the *Schlachta*, and flew against the Russians.*

The Empress Catherine, at war with the Turks, and threatened by Sweden, was

† The reader may by reference to the appendix and to the splendid eulogium pronounced on the constitution of the third of May, by Burke, judge the extent of the above misrepresentation of the passage of Polish history alluded to. EDITOR.

forced, or affected to be so, by the Poles themselves to consent to a fresh dismemberment of Poland which the Germans coveted. I say that Catherine affected to be forced to this fresh dismemberment because it would appear that she had secretly engaged herself to deliver the whole of ancient Poland to her two compatriot accomplices.

As soon as she announced her intention of diminishing the Polish territory, the King of Prussia, who formerly declared his intention of maintaining its integrity, who had congratulated the Poles on their choice of the Saxon dynasty, and on the courage they had displayed in resisting the Russian yoke, hastened to secure a share in the spoil and announced the entry of his troops into Great Poland by a declaration of the 25th of March, 1793. In this manifesto Frederick reproaches the Poles “ *with their resistance to his councils, and to the well-*

intentioned views of the Empress Catherine ; he pitied the misfortunes of a country exposed to anarchy, and affected to experience lively fears for the safety of his own states through the expansion of French principles in Poland.

“These motives obliged him to take salutary precautions by provisionally taking possession of Thorn, Dantzic and a part of Great Poland, to insure its tranquillity and protect all well intentioned Poles.”

After the partition of Poland the Kayserinn Maria Theresa took care to propagate in Poland that she had come to a sense of the enormity of her crime and had confessed it to her almoner. She excused herself by saying that she had been drawn into it by Catherine, but that she had asked forgiveness and wept burning tears for the offence.

There is still some christian feeling in

this dynasty of Habsburg," exclaimed, in their simplicity, some of the Polish nobles, who learned this royal and imperial confession.

It is well said by Machiavel, that mankind is so simple, and so accustomed to yield to the times, that he who seeks to deceive will always find dupes willing to be deceived.

During the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the Kaiser Francis, to gain the confidence of the Poles, said openly that he was ready to restore the Polish Province termed Galicia, on condition that Russia and Prussia would restore the parts they possessed of Poland. He said this because he knew beforehand that he would not be taken at his word. He did not hold the same language in 1812, when Napoleon asked of him the restitution of Galicia to re-establish

Poland—nor when the Poles seriously demanded it of him in 1830.

The taking of Adrianople by the Russians in 1828 spread terror throughout Austria and re-awakened the hypocritical sympathies of the Kaiser for Poland. A secret society was formed in Gallicia to deliver Poland from the Russian yoke. M. Poninski, President of the Semi Secret Society, came to ask of the Austrian Governor, Prince Lobkowitz, a Germanised Bohemian, if in case of an insurrection breaking out against Russia he might count on the active support of the Kaiser — the Governor affecting to be surprised and embarrassed, replied that in so grave a question it was necessary that he should make a report to the Kaiser and took eight days to give his answer. At the expiration of this delay the Governor announced to M. Poninski that the Kaiser's Government, notwithstanding its sympathy

for the Poles, could not and would not have any knowledge of this secret society, that the Austrian Government even *advised* the conspirators to dissolve it. This negative answer confirmed the Poles in the confidence they had in the Kaiser because it was announced in such a manner as left it to be understood that propriety and diplomatic reservation alone forbade one more formally favorable.

The Polish insurrection of 1831 was aroused by the French Revolution, of which it came in aid, for Poland was not ripe for a successful disengagement from the Foreign yoke. This insurrection was simply one more Polish sacrifice in favor of France.

Austria sold the insurgents several thousand muskets at 60 francs a piece, allowed the emigration of all the Gallician enthusiasts who went to the assistance of Russian

Poland, and sent to its frontiers a corps of observation of from twenty to twenty-five thousand men.

At St. Petersburg, Austria said that the destination of this corps was to make the Austrian territory and Monarchical principles respected by the insurrectionary Government of Warsaw. Elsewhere it caused it to be understood or rather guessed that this corps was destined to act against the Russians as soon as the opportunity arrived.

The evident object of the Austrian Cabinet was to force the Russian Emperor to return to the partition of Poland of 1795 before the Treaty of Tilsit, that is to say, to cede to the Sovereigns of Austria and Prussia the whole of ancient Poland on the left bank of the Vistula, and to attain this end, the Germans advised the Poles to

remove the theatre of war to Russia, and to send the Polish army to Lithuania.

General Chlopicki opposed this insane plan of those amongst the Poles under the influence of the German Courts; he foresaw and defeated the Prusso-Austrian snare. laying before his antagonists this objection: “Whether I am beaten by the Russians, or whether I beat them, Poland will be equally destroyed, because if I am beaten Russia will destroy Poland. If on the contrary I beat the Russians, then Poland will be invaded and destroyed by the German Courts of Vienna and Berlin.” The dictator Chlopicki demanded from the Courts of Vienna and Berlin, a frank and explicit declaration with regard to Poland, but only received evasive answers. It would appear as if all intervention on the part of France direct or indirect at the Court of St. Petersburg, in favor of

Polish nationality, is rather hurtful than beneficial to Poland ; and only of advantage to the German courts of Berlin and Vienna, who with this aid get the better of the Russian Cabinet.

As long as the Germans continue, in spite of the treaty of the congress of Vienna, to extirpate the Polish language in the Polish provinces, of which they have taken possession since 1771, to smother the Sclavonian spirit, they must be considered as a more hurtful enemy to Polish nationality than Russia. Since the introduction of Catholicism into Poland, the Germans have exercised and still exercise a most pernicious influence over Polish prosperity and nationality.

On the one side is arrayed a corrupt civilization—positive and practical intelligence, a speculative and mercantile spirit—mean and

avaricious opulence—hypocritical frankness—disciplined coolness, and the national protestanism of Germany ; on the other hand is arrayed blind confidence, frivolous imagination, chivalrous spirit, ardent but blind and disorderly passions, prodigal indigence, ingenuous hypocrisy, the foriegn Catholicism of Italy, and the privileges of favored classes. If the faith of the Poles in the German and Papal Courts should cool, England, the faithful ally of Austria, is there to re-kindle it.*

The German censured press exaggerates now the dangers which threaten the liberty and independence of Europe from the Rus-

* As long as our government bonds with cabinets against races, and as long as through ignorance and indifference the organs of our press allow themselves to be unwittingly made instruments of the former we must expect such reproaches. EDITOR.

sian Collosus—it tries thereby to alarm England, but more especially France.

Austria and Prussia employ all diplomatic means to excite France against Russia, and Russia against France. It is through the animosities of these two countries that the German Courts hope to obtain possession of the remainder of Ancient Poland and Italy without striking a blow. They do not fear the power of Russia, where there are many generals and other high functionaries or agents, Germans by birth or origin, and where they can dispose of the Poles, assured of their sympathy ; but they fear the political power of France : they have got sufficient resources and influence, as well as a sufficiently firm footing to be able to repel all aggression or danger which might really menace them from that quarter. After all it is intelligence which governs the

world ; and the intellectual power of Russia is nothing. In this quarter there is perhaps only to be dreaded the facility with which the German Princes allow themselves to be bought, and the corruptive liberality of the Russian Court.

The German sovereigns, bound together by a federative bond, united by relationship, assist each other mutually, whenever it is a question of invading, Germanising, and oppressing a foreign people, or of seizing a foreign throne.

They have filled the whole of Europe with their aristocratical dynasties : they are to be found in England, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Poland, Russia, etc. ; they seat their princes and princesses on all foreign thrones, but they do not allow strangers to ascend the thrones of Germany.

They look upon themselves as the nursery

of hereditary absolute royalty, of which the foundation is the Court of Vienna. The dynasty of Habsburg being anti-national to five-sixths of the population of the whole Empire, could not maintain itself upon the throne, nor could the Empire exist, unless by the maintenance of an absolute government. Every sentiment of humanity, patriotism, nationality, or liberty, must necessarily frighten this dynasty and its paternal government. The Austrian Government is the only one in Europe the existence of which depends entirely on the maintenance of despotism ; and for that reason it is looked upon by all Princes, as the centre of royalty. We may daily witness with what address and perseverance Austria knows how to interest all the legitimatists and all the Princes of Europe in the maintenance of the paternal Government, which is useful and

necessary solely to itself. For this purpose these Princes make pilgrimages to Vienna, that they may be duly instructed in the principles and mysteries of this said paternal government, sign an act and take an oath of fidelity to the Holy Alliance. It is not without reason that Vienna is called *Spelunca Latronum*.

In the Monarchial Congresses, the German Confederation is sure to have the preponderance, and the bulk of the booty ; because the number of crowned German heads are far greater than any others. The Germans absorbed to themselves more than half the indemnities extorted from France by the Coalition of 1814 and 1815.

At that time, multiplying themselves to the number of forty independent states, they first demanded war imposts, as sovereigns of Germany ; secondly, an indemnity for their

subjects, as the protectors and fathers of their people ; and lastly, personal presents ; whilst all the time standing towards France in the position of traitors to their engagements. The struggle of the Greeks, and the naval combat of Navarino, won by the French, the English, and the Russians, has only up to the present profited the German Princes, that is to say, to the Bavarian Germans, who colonize and plunder Greece. All the money supplied to Greece by the non-Germanic protective powers, served solely to augment the royal and dynastic treasury of Bavaria. If, by giving to Greece a German Prince as King, the three protective Courts had in view the corruption of Greek manners, the impoverishment of the Greeks and the suppression of their patriotism, they acted with

perfect consistency, and could hardly have chosen or succeeded better.

Germany is the only civilised power in Europe which extends its yoke over and keeps under its orders thirty-six millions of different races to its own ;—strangers to its own whom it nationalizes, and impoverishes. Disciplined destitution, accustomed to suffer hunger, thirst, cold and heat, to support patiently fatigue and blows inured to hopeless labour, become a terrible army in the hands of a wealthy and intelligent Court. The selfishly mercantile spirit of the Germanic Sovereigns, and especially of the Sovereigns of Austria and Prussia, their coolness, their insatiable avidity of gain, their profound knowledge of religious politics, makes them infinitely more dangerous to liberty and humanity than the Sovereigns of Turkey and Russia.

Besides which, Germany is essentially commercial, and the Germans, from the effects of their demoralization, and their servile spirit, are voluntary tools and slaves of their sovereigns ; whilst the Russians and all the Slavonians are essentially and almost exclusively agriculturists ; and are only tools to their sovereign because forced to become so, and through the absence of civilization.

We are poor, say the Brandenburgs, and Habsburgs, to their subjects ; and, whilst hiding their millions, they persuade them that they are so. We are rich ; we have two hundred millions in the bank ; we do not fear all Europe put together, exclaimed a statesman, a French minister, in 1840. Take care, gentlemen of France and hide carefully your two hundred millions, if you possess them.

The despots of Austria, of Prussia,

Bavaria, will only have to repeat your words to their half barbarous, hungry, and well disciplined Italians, Hungarians, Illyrians, Dalmatians, Bohemians, Moravians, Tyrolese, Silesians, Croatians, Poles, Austrians, Germans, Bavarians, &c., whose blood they never spare, and whose numbers they never reckon.

It was not the rich who devoured the Roman Empire, but the ragged Germans, (Goths.) Carthage was attacked and perished only on account of her wealth. Sixty thousand poor Greeks or Macedonians, conquered gilded armies, numbering one million of Persians, commanded by Darius. It was the poor French republicans who defended the soil of their country, and repulsed the invasion of the innumerable armies of the banded slaves of the whole of Europe : who made the despots tremble on their thrones, encircled as they were by faithful

legitimatisers, the body-guard of despotism. It was they who raised France to the highest pitch of fame and prosperity, who caused its name and glory to resound throughout the whole universe, and gained for it the esteem and admiration of all nations as well as of all despots. It was the French *millionaires*, the titled royalists, who abandoned the soil of their country in the hour of danger ; it was they who raised foreign despots, against France and introduced them into it in 1814 and 1815 ; it was they who destroyed, and abased their country ; who made the whole universe resound with their mean spirited pusillanimity, and who drew down upon France the contempt of all nations.

Those who pretend that peace is necessary to Europe, are right if they mean internal as well as external peace ; but they are wrong if they mean only the

absence of war between one power and another, Exterior peace is useful and necessary only to the despots of Austria, Prussia, and Bavaria ; it is disastrous to all subjugated people, and it is even hurtful to people who govern themselves like France ; because it is during the period of external peace that the German despots make use of their armies against their subjects, from whom they mercilessly extort money ; heaping up treasures and encompassing France by ragged and servile mendicants, who inundate and infest it. It is only during an external war that they accord them a little respite, and that they draw upon their own hoarded millions.

The system of the sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, and Bavaria, is to keep their subjects always poorer, than those of their neighbouring states. By this system they

prevent foreign importation, smuggling, luxury, and the desire for foreign travel ; exciting them to foreign exportation, where every thing is dearer than with them.

Whilst in France an effort is made to raise the home consumption, the German sovereigns only endeavour to augment the exports, and to diminish the home consumption, because it diminishes the net revenue of the treasury.

Hence, the resources of France, without taking into account its enormous debt, are scattered, and more apparent than real ; whilst those of the Germanic confederation are concentrated and more real than apparent. In Austria, it is the State, that is to say the Kaiser, who is rich, who possesses millions in gold and silver ; it is the subjects who are poor, and who possess nothing but paper money, the value of which depends

entirely on the will of the Sovereign. The Germans are in general, cold parsimonious calculators, and unfeeling egotists, who understand much better how to preserve, than to acquire wealth, and are better pleased at being rich, than with appearing to be so. The French, on the contrary, are prodigal, enterprising, humane, full of generous and expansive sentiments. They have sympathies with all the world, and for all that is beautiful, grand, humane, fantastic, or chimerical. Their delight is to appear rich, even when they are poor. This difference of character joined to the confidence which the French have in their constitutional government, and the perfect equilibrium betwixt the revenue and the expenses of the State causes nearly all the specie, to be in circulation, and the same sum circulating in France, with three or four times the

rapidity with which it does in Germany, appears to be three or four times greater than it really is.

Money is only a representative of the value of necessities or conveniences of life. The more abundant money, the less merchandise it represents. Now the Sovereigns of Germany Austria, and Prussia, whose revenues far exceed their expenses, gather together treasures during the time of peace, but hide the specie from circulation and withdraw them from the commerce of the world.

By this abstraction of specie, they make all merchandise cheaper in their own States than in France or England. Their impoverished subjects must always offer merchandise to foreigners, and are never able to buy any themselves, because they are in want of money. Exportation therefore naturally

very much surpasses importation. Hence money, which being all in circulation, and consequently more abundant in France or England, finds there, like a fluid, its own level, flows in Prussia and Austria, slowly but unceasingly into the treasures of Austrian and Prussian and other treasure-hoarding governments.

The sovereign of Austria may be compared to Tantalus, or Croesus, as to wealth, though they propagate both abroad and in their own States the report that they are poor: firstly because voluntary poverty gives an appearance of nobility of character and sentiments, and secondly that they can with impunity, under the pretext of state necessities, extort from and oppress their loving subjects, palliate their avarice and dispense with furnishing assistance to unfortunates, suffering from fire or

other calamities : and lastly because they know it is dangerous to hoard up or accumulate millions amidst pauper populations of regimented slaves. All would be lost in Austria if the Landesknechts (military), who are only paid in paper money, learnt that their Kaiser hid millions* in gold and silver. The Kaiser Francis the First, who died in 1835, must have left to his son and successor to the throne crown, property to the value of more than four hundred and fifty millions of florins, currency (fifty millions sterling) in gold and silver, without reckoning the hereditary portions of his other children.

* The author here repeats, and gives credit, to the rumour occasioned by the oppressive rapacity of the Austrian Government. In reality these sums are greatly exaggerated.

The King of Prussia, who reigned before the last, must have left to his legitimate and illegitimate heirs thirty three millions of thalers (about five millions sterling), without reckoning the crown treasure.

Instead of proclaiming—"We have two millions in the bank—we are rich." It would be more in conformity with the truth, and more politic for the French to say "we are poor, because the neighbouring despots, by oppressing their subjects, render them beggars in contact with whom we can only lose."

The Germanic agents of despotism write a great deal against French love of conquest at the present day, and exalt the mildness of paternal German absolutism.

They call upon the inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine and others to become or

remain Austrian, Prussian, or Bavarian slaves.

There is nothing surprising or astonishing in these manifestations.

Slaves are proud of the riches of, and of the possession of a large number of slaves by their masters.

They therefore call upon the whole world to unite itself to them ; but what proves the venality and corruption of these German writers is their bad faith, and an utter want of conscience.

In one sense to appropriate a territory or nation is to make it one's property, to draw from it all its resources to augment one's own. Italy, Hungary, Moravia, Silesia, Bohemia, Poland, Dalmatia, are conquests of the German sovereigns, who looking upon these Provinces as farms, and the subjugated populations as a flock whom they have a

right to drive, tax, and take advantage of to their own uncontrolled and exclusive profit. But liberal France with its half democratic government cannot make any such conquests in Europe, she can only unite herself with the Belgian Luxemburghers, the inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine and others, for the general safety of persons and property. The German despots would lose, but the German people would gain by such an event. From slaves that they are, the Germans, by their union with the French, would become free citizens.

The mercenary and venal writers themselves, the German non-reigning Barons and Princes, who, as we shall see, in the article on penal justice, are subject to the blows of the stock (stick), would be happier united to France than they are under Kayser or Koenig.

The German sovereigns keep under their civilized yoke thirty-six millions of people belonging to foreign races, not German, it therefore ill becomes the German sovereigns to cry out against the spirit of conquest of France.

France would never send to Brussels, Cologne, Venice, or Milan, a Satrap under the name of *Landes-Gouverneur*, *Landsvogt*, *Landrath*, *Landsknecht*.

The civil list of this constitutional King of France would never be clandestinely augmented, fifty or sixty millions a year to the prejudice of allied countries.

France does not wish for conquests in Europe, she does not want them—but she desires and ought to desire to unite her moral, political, and physical strength with that of adjacent countries to augment her means of defence against the

tyranny and avidity of despots. The geographical, social, and political position of France, is such, that she must either undergo the influence of absolution and become tributary to German despots, as the whole of Sclavonia is become without excepting the Russians governed and worked upon to the profit of the Germans, or she must force the absolute Sovereigns to enfranchise their subjects.*

The liberty and prosperity of France depend on the liberty and prosperity of other countries, and this is the reason why all popular movements in France find so much sympathy amongst the subjugated

* The reigning family of Romanoff is really the House of Holstein Goltorp, whilst the majority of Russian empolyés are degenerate Germans.

countries, and are received with such hatred by their sovereigns.

This is why French royalty, exposed to the pernicious influence and suggestions of the crowned despots—and otherwise established, as we shall shew elsewhere, on a false basis, had always an inclination to become despotic.

The position of England is quite different, the reaction of the Continent on her, (with the exception of commercial action) is deadened by the British Channel. Her government, whether absolute or constitutional, is less interesting to continental sovereigns.

The liberty and prosperity of the English people are more independent and isolated, from those continental nations, and less reciprocal.

The policy of the British government,

whether under a democratical, aristocratical, or monarchical form, will never be towards other states anything but commercial, and in this capacity it will become the interest of England, sooner or later, to impede the cultivation of the land by the white slaves of Austria and Russia, for the advantage of her land-holders, in the same manner that she opposes herself in her commercial interests to the manufactory of sugar by black slaves.

CHAPTER II.

INTERIOR LEGISLATION AND GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

MORAL as well as physical laws are not to be given or imposed, but emanate or are derived from the individual, the society, or object to whom they relate.

Whatever an absolute Sovereign or society may prescribe, without my authorisation or consent, is the law of this Sovereign, or of this

society, but not mine, since not emanating from me.

Man is an animal endowed with reason—an organized state or world within himself. Reason, which alone distinguishes him from animals, is his legislative--will, his executive power--and the limbs of his body are his subjects. Man as a state, as an organized world, may be in communication with other men his equals, but he is not intended by nature to be absorbed by, or subjected to them ; all subjection of one man to another is contrary to nature, and either proves violence exercised or defective intellect.

If we consult only practice, it would be difficult to give a general definition of law. In France and England law is a rule prescribed by the electors, the Houses of Parliament, and the sovereign. In Switzerland and the United States, it is a decision of the

whole people ; in Russia, law is an Ukase of the sovereign ; in Austria a *Befehl* (command) of the Kaiser, duly promulgated and intended to serve as a rule only to his subjects or agents. Before promulgating a *Befehl*, the Kaiser generally consults his Council of State, or commission instituted for legislative affairs, in order to give to the befehl an appearance of law and justice. All possible eventualities are foreseen, and the tribunals of justice, civil and criminal, are ordered not to deny a decision on account of a fault in an obscurity of a befehl, but to resolve the doubtful case from analogy to, or from the spirit of other befehls.

In Austria, there is no aristocracy of birth or fortune ; those who are called lords form only a miserable doulocracy—they are only the first slaves, or titled and paid agents of the Kaiser.

There are few writers who in comparing the Austrian Government with the Turkish or Russian, would not give the preference to the former on the score of humanity and liberty ; this is, however, a gross error.

In Turkey, the Sultan's Government is controlled in its power by the corporations and by the franchises of cities ; the administration of justice is independent.

The judges have the power of stopping the execution of fresh laws which it declares contrary to the old.

The Grand Muphti may oppose by his veto an order of the Sultan ; but in Austria there is no independent institution existing of itself, no social force erected into public power ; nobody has the power of limiting or contradicting the will of the Kaiser. Religion itself, with its priests, is only a branch of

the Government High Police. The absolutism of Russian Sovereigns is bridled sometimes for good, but much oftener for evil by the senate ;* and is rather personal than dynastical, rather arbitrary and disorderly than methodical and systematical.

The Czars, by personally interfering in affairs, and causing decisions to be given in their name, expose their passions and weaknesses ; and by their violence compromise the *prestige* of their infallibility and sanctity ; but they shew sometimes compassion for distress, and nearly always generously remunerate military services and devotion to their person. In Austria, on the contrary,

* The Author is mistaken in this point. Neither at the present or at any period since its institution has the Russian Senate, in the faintest degree, influenced the conduct of the Tsars or their ministers.

despotism is dynastic and legal ; the name of the Emperor is not pronounced in any decision ; everything is done in the name of the law ; the Kaiser himself is hidden behind his befehl. The most atrocious cruelties are committed in the name of the law. The Kaiser never shews clemency because not he, but the law condemns.

Pereat mundus, fiat justitia, let the world perish, but let justice be done, says the Kaiser. He is never generous, because every thing is owing to him, and no one owes him anything. In Russia they teach that the Czar has the right of doing whatsoever he pleases ; in Austria the people are taught and persuaded that the Kaiser can only do what the law ordains.

The absolutism of the Kaisers is more methodic and prudent than that of the Sultans or Czars ; thus, the revolts which break

out in Austria, are always suppressed before they acquire consistency. There is, however, no part of Poland where misery and oppression is so great as in Austrian Poland ; nor is Polish nationality any where so ill treated as it is in Austria. It is true that the Austrian Government enjoys this advantage unknown to other governments, that in all its undertakings to oppress a foreign country, it is powerfully aided by the Germanic press, and by the Germans, who are disseminated throughout all countries and classes, and who, under different disguises, introduce themselves into every public and secret society, in order to betray them to their despots. Hungary, which is the most fertile country in Europe, and which has a sort of constitution, enjoys little greater happiness under the Austrian rule than either Galicia or Bohemia without any.

The Russian government permits the existence of the social, democratic, organization of the Cossacks of the island of Rovno* near Riga ; he endows the German university of Trappau, and allows privileges to the Germans of Courland and Livonia, where they introduced themselves in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the disguise of christian missionaries, but in fact to carry on their various trades ; and where they ended by rendering themselves the masters

* Only as long as the Cossacks were, or continue, instruments useful in extending the dominion of Russia. The privileges of the Cossacks are already undergoing constant abrogation. The Don Cossacks, for instance, have been deprived of all their franchises by Nicholas, who has introduced slave colonies of Muscovites into their territory.

EDITOR.

* Britannical Review, July, 1842.

and oppressors of the Slavonian people.* In Austria, all is despotically organized after the servile Germanic mode. The Polish noblemen Zaboklicki Vincent, Zalewski Léon and others who freed their peasants from the yoke, were looked upon by the Austrian government as rebels, condemned, *ad corcerem durissimum*, and sent to Spielberg. The Russian government engages the nobles to grant freedom to their serfs.†

* The population of these provinces, termed "Balhe provinces,"—as the bulk of it continues to be—was not Slavonian but a mixture of the Finnish with another people, a distinct race from either the Finns or Slavonians, and of which the *Lives*, *Kurcs*, and *Letti* are supposed to have been branches,

EDITOR.

† But without ever permitting them to do so, Russia introduced slavery amongst the eight millions of the Russo Polish provinces. Nicholas has introduced serfdom amongst the five millions of free peasants in the Polish Kingdom (Editor).

In order to be more sheltered from all attack, and all reproach of absolutism, the Kaisers transfer the charge of the management of the government mechanism, to a minister who bears the title of High Chancellor, and who is commonly styled in Poland. Austrian Visier, in consequence of the analogy of his functions and authority with those of the Grand Visier in Turkey. The two other ministers of police and finance, as well as all the presidents of tribunals and chanceries, are mere clerks of this Grand Chancellor.

The administration of all political and judicial affairs is concentrated in Vienna. Political affairs, comprising those of the clergy and of religion, are managed, or decided without appeal, by the Chancellor of the court (*Hofkanzlei*). Financial affairs

are managed by the Kaiser himself, and by the chamber of accounts (Hofkammer).

The Austrian empire consists of divers people, and provinces. At the head of each province, excepting Hungary, there is a governor, who has his council, called Gubernium. The counsellors, the secretaries, and other officers which compose the Gubernium, are named by the Kaiser or by his chancery. The governor has a right to decide on all matters even against the advice of his council. He is the political representative ; and in cases of necessity or of danger, the absolute master of the province.

The chiefs of the temporal and spiritual army, the generals and officers, the Archbishops, Bishops, and Priests, the officials employed, and all his subjects owe him a blind obedience. In consequence of this

absolute power, he is called in Gallicia the Kaiserial Satrap.

As to the management of the affairs and political administration, Gallicia is divided into nineteen circles. At the head of each circle is placed an agent, who has the title of captain of the circle. He has five or six commissaries under his orders, a doctor of the circle, an engineer, a secretary, a protocolist, an accountant, two or three counsellors, five or six landsdragons, and five or six aspirants, who labour gratis for four or six years, in the hopes of an eventual employ of one or two hundred florins (10*l* or 20*l*) a year.

Every circle has a treasury, composed of a cashier, a comptroller, and two subalterns. This treasury receives all the contributions, exactions, penalties, tributes, etc.

For the arrangement of Political matters

there is a Burgomaster named by the Gubernium, and paid by the town ; in the village there are also noblemen who are government agents, and who, by way of recompence, enjoy the unprofitable toil, of which they and the Kaiser divide the revenue.

The general administration of Galicia is so directed that none but Germans, and German Jews, are to be seen in the towns. Almost the whole of the Polish population, divided into tyrannic nobles, and enslaved peasants, is confined to the rural districts, The Polish peasantry are forbidden to establish themselves in the towns without the consent of their lords, and as it is the peasantry who constitute all the wealth of the nobles, these latter are especially careful not to grant them this permission.

To extirpate the Polish race, and Germanize Poland, there are stations of German

colonies placed from distance to distance, and more especially towards the Russian frontier. All the colonists, without exception, are of the Protestant religion, and enjoy many privileges, amongst others, that of not being subjected to the military conscription. The Polish population alone furnishes soldiers to the Kaiser. Having myself been a member of the Austrian government, I had an opportunity of convincing myself by the authentic documents of 1775, called *Fassions*, that the aboriginal population of the country was much greater in the year of the Austrian invasion, 1772, than in 1829. The government, by means of the conscription, selects and carries off the handsomest and most robust of the Polish youths for the military service ; the nobles are permitted to cruelly ill-treat a portion of them. A great many are allowed to perish from

want and inanition, and only those are suffered to live in the country who are absolutely necessary for the cultivation of the land. With good reason, therefore, the German Press felicitates the Austrian and Prussian governments, on their extension of the German frontiers, and says, that the Germanic elements begin to prevail in Poland. Gallicia, after seventy-three years of the paternal administration of Austria, is found at this moment to be in an infinitely inferior state, with regard to national wealth, than it was in the Seventeenth Century, after the ravages of the Tartars, Turks, and Swedes. These barbarians, at least, respected the Catholic Churches, whilst the Austrians have pillaged them.

Commerce, which is a source of riches to free nations, is in Polish Austria but an excuse for misery, the government favoring, by every possible means, foreign exportation.

because it can, with greater facility, take possession of the money.

No prohibition exists against the establishment of any kind of manufactory in Galicia ; on the contrary, every Austrian subject is permitted to establish them, but permission must be obtained from the government, and this permission is rendered nearly unattainable by the numberless conditions imposed upon it. The requisite formula are protracted by the obligation of, first, presenting a petition to the Burgomaster, then to the circle, after that to the Gubernium, and at length, after having bought the support of all these offices, to the Aulic chancery at Vienna.

The peculiar tax of which the Kaiser exacts payment before the establishment can be opened, is so high and arbitrary that

since the Austrian invasion, no manufactory, of any kind whatsoever, has been established. The paternal policy of the Kaiser demands that Poland should be an agricultural country, and that it should be dependent on the German provinces for its manufactures. In the whole of Austrian Poland, there is only one manufactory of coarse cloth, at Mikulince. The proprietor of this manufactory, Mr. Konopka, in the year 1821, or 1822, demanded of the Kaiser Francis, at the time of his visit to Gallicia, the loan of 40,000 florins, for the purpose of extending his manufactory. The Kaiser promised the loan, at five per cent., on mortgage, accepted the breakfast M. Konopka offered him and his suite, consisting of an immense number of German Barons, and induced his complaisant host, to address a petition to him on his return to Vienna. Mr. Konopka

did not fail to conform to the orders of his Kaiser, and to strengthen his petition, produced all the titles and documents, to prove that the value of his property and manufactories were more than sufficient to cover the mortgage of 40,000 florins demanded to be lent; and feeling certain, as the Kaiser had given his word, of succeeding in his request, commenced the works of extension and embellishment. But what was his astonishment, when he received a negative answer. He still, however, thought in his simplicity that the Kaiser had forgotten his promise, or that he had not read his petition; he therefore addressed himself again to the Kaiser in person, when a second refusal convinced him that the Austrian system was more powerful than the word of the Kaiser. As the Kaiser does nothing without first consulting his council of state.

this council had at once exposed the danger which might accrue to the throne, from the agglomeration of a multitude of workmen, in a conquered country, and also to German industry from the establishment of so large a manufactory in Poland. Mr. Konopka was therefore obliged to content himself, with the satisfactory reflection, of having given an imperial breakfast, at a cost of 2000 florins (£200). The Polish nobleman Miaczinski, after enormous expenditure, obtained permission to establish a cloth manufactory at Zalosce. He constructed work-shops, store-houses, and magazines. He brought his instruments, tools, and mechanism from England, engaged his workmen, and according to Belehl informed the government that he was going to open a manufactory ; the government took note of this intimation, but reminded

him that, under a heavy penalty, he was bound to pay to the government 10,000 florins (£1,000) a year, as the price of its permission. M. Miaczinski, alarmed at the enormity of this tax, and uncertain as to the eventual returns of his speculation, first adjourned the opening, and finally abandoned the enterprise, not having been able to obtain a diminution of the tax. To be allowed to establish a pharmacy, or any warehouse for the sale of ironwork or colonial produce, etc. etc., permission must first be obtained from the Aulic Chancery at Vienna, and these concessions are almost exclusively reserved for Germans. As, in France and England, capital is chiefly possessed by individuals who govern, in the former but especially in the latter country instead of increasing the amount of taxation on the rich to cover the expenditure of the State,

debts are contracted in order that they may find investment for their capital—the citizen legislators are rich, the State is poor—Austria is the precise converse. To increase the net revenue of the Treasury, taxation is increased, debts are only apparently contracted, and as a speculation. The State, that is to say, the Kaiser, is rich, his subjects—there are no citizens—are poor. The indigence of the people renders useless the prohibitory laws put in force in England and France. Rich Austrians are not seen travelling for pleasure abroad, nor buying French wines, but many poor Germans and German beggars are seen in all rich countries. In constitutional monarchies the very soul of finance is the system of debt, in the absolute government of Austria, on the contrary, it is economy.

There is not a single town in Galicia whose corporation has debts, all being economical, and lending out their money to the nobility and rich citizens, at five per cent on legal mortgage. The Emperor being at once guardian, trustee, and the supreme administrator of the churches, towns, and every other community, as soon as a town has contrived to scrape together some savings, these are gathered into his treasury. It is thus that the Emperor Francis, having learned, during his visit to Galicia, in 1817, that the town of Leopold, had saved four hundred thousand florins in Dutch ducats, (forty thousand pounds) had this gold immediately seized and carried to Vienna, under a strong escort.

All these transactions are enveloped in the greatest mystery. The government officials, acquainted with the fact, would be

cashiered and sentenced to condign punishment, if it could be proved that they had disclosed this state secret, as it might be construed into an accusation of avarice against the sacred person of the Emperor, which tended to estrange the love of his faithful subjects.

Money being the sole aim of the internal and external policy of the Emperors, they do not hesitate to employ any means for its acquisition, or in their endeavours to economise it.

The arrival of the Emperor in Galicia, was announced several months previously. A month before-hand the hostel of the the black eagle at Jaroslau, where the Emperor and his suite were to sup, sleep, and breakfast, was ordered to be prepared for the occasion.

The governor gave the order to the

captain of the district, he again to the burgomaster, and finally the burgomaster to Madame Piekna, (the landlady of the hotel, a widow with five young children,) to embellish and refurnish her hotel for the reception of the august guests.

Madame Piekna was unanimously congratulated by her fellow citizens on this distinction.

It was even currently reported that his Majesty had chosen this hotel in preference to any other, for the purpose of assisting this poor widow, whose fortune was in a bad state, and who was deploring the death of her husband; this was the more readily believed that she was generally known for her piety and exemplary exercise of the duties of the Catholic Religion. A fortnight before the arrival of his Majesty, the Hotel was surrounded by police, cavalry, and infantry—no one was allowed to enter.

Madame Piekna did not hesitate at any expense, and caused all the embellishments to be executed which had been recommended by the burgomaster, engineer, and captain of the Circle. At last, on the day named, his Majesty, accompanied by M. Metternich and a numerous suite of courtiers, arrived—supped—slept—breakfasted, paid twenty five florins (three pounds sterling), and left for Leopold. Madame Piekna went to the burgomaster and threatened to bring him before the judge as answerable for the expense and loss which the Kaiser's visit had occasioned her. The burgomaster had the Order of the Court of the Circle read to her. She addressed herself to the Court of the Circle, which proved to her that it had only acted in conformity with the command of the gubernium, and lastly, applied to the Emperor himself, and was informed that she had the right of citing the imperial treasury

before a court composed of the creatures of the Emperor. The poor widow was consequently ruined and reduced to beggary.

The emperors being absolute masters over the fortunes of their subjects, are at great pains to induce foreign princes to visit Vienna, to take the baths of Karlsbad, and to spend their money liberally. They have more interest than constitutional governments generally, in making advantageous treaties of commerce ; they are less inclined to make concessions than constitutional governments, because although always appearing to act for the interests of their subjects, they only do so in reality for their own.

All the money earned by their subjects from strangers, finds its way little by little into their treasury, whence it only emerges in times of the utmost necessity.

It is severely forbidden to make subscrip-

tions for foreigners who may have suffered by conflagrations, inundations, or earthquakes without the consent of government. It is likewise forbidden to play in foreign lotteries, but the Austrian citizens are allowed to gamble away their manors or estates, and to sell the tickets to foreigners, because the seller is obliged to pay the emperor in advance, 10 per cent, of the price set upon it, which often considerably exceeds its real value.

It is also in consequence of a financial speculation, that provisions and rent are considerably dearer at Vienna, than in any other town in the empire, because Vienna is the city where the ambassadors and the principal foreigners reside. In this it is the contrary of Paris, where provisions are cheaper than in the provinces. It was equally the effects of a financial speculation which drew

to Vienna the congress of all the European Sovereigns in 1815, enriched with the booty of France.

The Austrian policy is too greedy and too timid to endure many wealthy private individuals. Therefore there are hardly any capitalists in Gallicia. There is however no rule without an exception, Monsieur Alexander Starzynski inherited from his father considerable landed property, and one hundred thousand Dutch ducats.

As soon as the Emperor became acquainted with the fact, he gave Monsieur Starzynski the title of Count, with its tax of £600, made him his chamberlain, and called him to Vienna, to deliver into his hands the keys of his new chamberlainship.

Madame Starzynski had a son; the Emperor stood godfather to the child. The

fortunate favorite did not perceive the snare laid for him ; he let himself be seduced by the German Barons, spent his money with princely magnificence, borrowed at five, then at ten, and lastly, at twenty, thirty, forty, per cent ; till at length, he became insolvent, and was obliged to return to Gallicia, there to meditate in silence over the vanity of human greatness.

To economise the expenses of a representative, and at the same time to ruin Prince Esterhazy, he was sent as ambassador to England.

Esterhazy, being a Hungarian, is too high-minded to accept a salary from his Emperor, and undertook to defray the expenses of his ambassadorship out of his private fortune ; but, as Austrian policy mistrusts Hungarian, Italian, and Polish patriotism, care is taken to have him

accompanied by an adviser of pure German origin, who watches over his actions, and reports them to the Government.

Conviction, the fear of consequences, love, and religion, are the chief incentives of all our actions. As it is almost impossible to establish general and identical conviction, the Government, in order duly to exercise its functions, has recourse to fear, through the severity of the law, and to religion, through the intermedium of the priests. Professors, tribunals, soldiers, and priests, all contribute towards rendering sacred the person of the Emperor, and to causing his commands to be at once loved and respected. Blind obedience is required to the ordinances of all public functionaries, even when diametrically opposed to higher commands, because these agents have alone the power of interpreting and applying the laws efficaciously.

We take care of things according as we love them ; love is alike the cause, and soul of preservation. The Emperor loves his subjects and the soil of his empire, because they are either useful or necessary to his preservation or to the increase of his treasures.

For the preservation of a republican state or constitutional monarchy, the legislative body of citizens must love their country above every thing.

Those citizens who prefer the preservation of the head of their government, to the preservation of their country itself are unworthy of the name of citizens ; they are more the tools of this royal chief, than the legislators of their country, they would not hesitate at placing themselves at the head, or in the ranks of a foreign and mercenary army, to fight against their country, for the preservation of their Idol.

A great statesman, a minister of France, and at the same time a great writer, Monsieur Guizot, observed in the House of Deputies in 1845,

“Our position is not straightforward, we have not a truly representative government.”

Yes, the real elements and basis of a representative government are wanting in France. It is in vain for this heroic and generous nation to overthrow the absolutism of the throne, and to proclaim a free government, as long as the hierarchy of the Romish clergy exists, whose organization is eminently despotic, and which is governed by a foreign despot, resident at Rome—as long as the priests look upon themselves as the ministers, or rather the grand visiers of God, and absolute masters over the fate of those whom they call, in derision—children of God, as long as one half

the electors, and the elected shall be composed of those so called French citizens, who seem always happy to sacrifice the happiness of France, for that of their new made King, France will never enjoy, for a continuance, the blessing of liberty.

The catholic clergy can never give its spiritual support to any but an absolute form of government, because it is only an absolute government that would cause its exorbitant and preternatural power to be respected as accorded by revelation, (viz.) miraculous transubstantiation, arbitrary and definitive remission of sins, &c.

The freer a people, the more the authority and the execution of the laws should be punctually and severely observed ; because the citizens, the framers of those laws, would think themselves authorised in infringing them at the caprice of the moment ; or when

the laws imposed too much restraint, or when they were not executed in accordance with their notions. In Austria, the legislation is, as we are prepared to show, inhuman, its authority barbarous, its execution pitiless. In France, the legislation is generally equitable ; authority mild ; but the execution of the laws is often paralysed, either by the pernicious influence of the electors and elected, or by an opposition often entirely devoid of principle, and of the political information alike necessary to a journalist, or a member of the legislation. At others it is blinded by passion or actuated by sordid or selfish feelings ; and composed, in a great measure, of a party, who will only recognize an absolute monarchical form of government.

If ever Protestant Germany should become constitutional, its government will be

established on a more solid basis, than that of France, because its evangelic form of worship is more national and more democratic than the catholic ; its priests are citizens and fathers of families, and obey a national and temporal authority.

It will struggle to eclipse France, whose government wants a spiritual foundation, and to become the centre of European civilisation.

The Austrian censorship is far more systematically arbitrary than that of any other of the absolute states.

The introduction and reading of newspapers and Polish books, printed in Russian Poland, were, until the insurrection of Poland, in 1830, even more strenuously forbidden than French books and newspapers. In order to persuade and force the Poles indirectly to learn German, a little more liberty

is accorded to German than to the Polish authors.

All that is destined to appear in print, all drawings, engravings, and paintings, must pass a censorship, and meet with its approval.

It is forbidden for Austrian subjects to have their books printed by foreigners, without the permission of the aulic chancery, at Vienna. Constantine Slotwinski, an ex-officer of the French Empire, Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, Imperial Commissary of his department, Librarian to the Polish library at Leopold, a celebrated jurisconsult, and a distinguished writer, had received a small prayer book, printed in Paris, and sent to him in secret, either by a friend or by an Austrian agent.

He had been long suspected by the police of patriotism and love of Polish nationality.

At midnight his house was surrounded by dragoons, and he was dragged from his bed. His wife, just out of her confinement, was torn from the embraces of her husband, and clinging desperately to him, was stunned by the butt end of their guns, which caused her to expire upon the spot.

Slotwinski was sentenced to twenty years hard labour (*ad carcerem durissimum*) by the imperial delegated commission of Vienna, which is composed of three faithful German agents, who alone have the authority of judgment in political offences, is now expiating his sin of patriotism in the dungeons of Spielberg, if he has not already been poisoned, as is frequently the case in Austria, if the delinquent is intelligent, and consequently obnoxious.

In all Austrian Poland, there are but five printing establishments, three at Leopold.

one at Tarnow, and one at Przemysl. This last belongs to a Pole, and only prints religious songs ; the four others to Germans, to whom this privilege is almost exclusively accorded. In all Austrian Poland there is but one newspaper, in German and Polish, this last is composed of four pages in quarto, and is only allowed to print news unconnected with politics, as contained in the Austrian journal, the "Observer," edited at Vienna by the private secretary of the High Chancellor. The censors of the newspapers are at the same time the functionaries or paid agents of the Emperor.

No Austrian subject is allowed to emigrate without the permission of government, and this permission is only granted on a high ransom being paid to the Emperor—the ransom being regulated according to the rank of the party. The Austrian frontier is

guarded by foresters, provided day and night with a loaded gun, and they are authorised to shoot upon the spot any individual attempting to emigrate or even to pass the frontier, without having paid this ransom to the Emperor.

Neither tailors, shoemakers, nor carpenters, &c., are allowed to establish a workshop or to work, either publicly or privately, for others, without first obtaining the permission, and paying the tax to the Emperor. The workmen who transgress this order, are punished with the confiscation of their tools and blows with the cane. All the police soldiers, and all the provincial dragoons, are provided for this purpose with canes, which they always carry about them.

The servants of both sexes, workmen and workwomen, and in general all persons who have no tangible property, or establishment, or workshop, are liable, for any infringement

of the police regulations, to corporeal punishment, the men to blows with canes, the women to whipping on their bare backs.

The Burgomasters, the police agents, those of their district, and all nobility, and their agents have the power of administering this punishment without any enquiry, or without any written decision.

The emperors never carry out their designs by straightforward means, but obtain their ends by subterfuge and cunning.

To ascertain the number of his subjects who manufacture gold and silver articles, and to be enabled to seize upon them, the emperor ordered by an edict of 1802 and 1803 what follows.

“ His Majesty having heard with horror that many articles are sold pretending to be gold and silver, but which either are not so at all, or contain considerable alloy, to prevent this public imposition, his Majesty

in his paternal solicitude for his dearly beloved subjects, commands as follows. Firstly "All persons, churches, and communities, who may have in their possession, administration, or said keeping, any articles whatever, of gold, or silver, shall be obliged, under pain of confiscation of the articles, or of fine, or imprisonment, to bring them, within two months, to the officer of the district, who will cause them to be stamped with the gold and silver mark."

Secondly. "Those to whom these articles belong shall pay to the government, by way of retribution, either in gold or in silver, but not in paper money, one kreutzer for an ounce of silver, and one kreutzer for a drachm of gold. The district agents have received strict orders to keep the registers of this operation, and to expose the article, the metal, its weight, the name of the owner, and of his dwelling, and to send the dupli-

cates of them to the chamber of finance. Every one recognised in this proceeding the paternal solicitude of the Emperor, and every manufacturer, depositor, or proprietor of gold and silver articles, hastened to have them stamped, and to pay this trifling fine. But a few months had scarcely elapsed, when another edict appeared, which commanded, under the same penalties of fine and imprisonment, to have all gold and silver articles stamped, and to pay to the government twenty kreutzers an ounce for silver, and the same sum for a drachm of gold. Those persons who had no gold or silver monies, chargeable the stamp duty, were bound to give up to government other articles wrought in those metals instead ; and the government took upon itself to pay the over-plus back again, in paper money, according to the course of exchange on the day of payment.

The Emperor being at once the guardian, the trustee, and the supreme administrator of the churches, ordered all their gold and silver articles to be delivered up to him, and he paid back the money in notes, of which mention will be made under the article finance.

An edict of the 30th of December, 1814, runs as follows.—

“In order to give the nobility of Galicia proofs of our paternal affection, and to maintain her ancient prerogatives, it is herewith ordained that no citizen shall either be able to purchase, to inherit, or to acquire in any manner whatsoever, those landed estates belonging to the nobility; the nobility alone shall be entitled to purchase and to retain them. The Polish nobility, flattered in its pride by this distinguishing privilege, thanked his Majesty for this proof of paternal solicitude.

In 1818 another *befehl* announced that the landed estates, the towns and villages of the state would be sold by public auction and that all the inhabitants alike, Jews or Christians, Patricians or Plebeians, would have a right to purchase them—the real object of the first *befehl* of 1814, was to increase the number of buyers as well as to fill the coffers of the State, or in other words, of the Kaiser.

Notwithstanding this deception, the Polish Austrian nobility is sufficiently attached to the House of Habsburg, because, firstly, the Kaisers easily grant the title of Count, in consideration of the payment of a tax of 6000 florins, (about £600) and secondly because they maintain more strictly the *Robot* (or service due from peasants to their lords) of the Polish peasantry, than other absolute Monarchies.

The Polono Austrian Counts shewed frequent signs of respect towards the Kaiser Francis, particularly during his journey through Gallicia in 1817. It is well known that the Kaiser Francis, like almost all the first born of the House of Habsburg had a falling under lip, a wide mouth, the head bowed towards the chest, and hollow cheeks and eyes.

The disciples of Plato, to imitate their chief and master affected to have round shoulders, and in Ethiopia when the Sovereign had any deformity the courtiers maimed themselves to resemble him.

A few Austriaco-polish Counts not wishing to appear less civilized than the Ethiopians affected, in 1817, and subsequently a falling lip, gaping mouth, and lowered head—though their zeal and devotedness did not lead them quite so far as to make them hollow their eyes and cheeks.

There are turnpikes every two leagues on all the high roads of the Austrian empire, with the exception of those in Hungary, where two kreutzer are paid for every head of yoked and one kreutzer for all unyoked cattle. Three drains crossing the road within the distance of a couple of leagues gives the Kaiser the right of increasing the toll one kreutzer per head. If there is a bridge a separate tax is paid.

Turnpikes are farmed out in Gallicia, the farmers being obliged to repair the roads, by which means the Kaiser derives a net revenue from them.

This system of levying toll allows the Kaiser to adopt towards foreign countries a system of policy, apparently liberal and disinterested, by granting a free transit for foreign merchandise, more particularly towards France, where this toll even does not

exist, and where consequently the French government derives no benefit from the transit of Austrian merchandise.

The further from Vienna, the capital of Austria, the more rare does specie become, and the greater the general poverty, though it is to be found in its greatest extreme in the proximity of the frontiers. In Gallicia, only paper money, copper, and pieces of silver, of twenty kreutzers (eight pence) are known. Out of ten thousand persons, hardly one has ever seen a two florin piece, (four shillings) or an Austrian ducat, but everybody knows the Russian roubles, and Dutch or Russian ducats, which the Kaiser gradually draws into his coffers, a fact which proves that the exportation to Russia and Russian Poland, is greater than the importation from those countries, and that the

Russian Poles are richer than the Austrian Poles.

Saxony, next neighbour of impoverished Bohemia, vainly endeavours to protect itself by prohibitive laws against the Bohemian beggars.

In Gallicia the wretchedness of the Burghers, Jews, and particularly of the peasantry, surpasses all that can be conceived. The Polish peasants can afford even black bread only during three or four months of the year : they live the remainder of the time on potatoes, with the exception of three or four months in the Spring ; when driven to subsist on green meat, extreme privation renders these poor wretches sallow, their bodies swell, and fever carries away thousands—particularly children and aged persons—every year. Out of a hundred children born, at least sixty die before the age of six, and it is rare in Gallicia to see a

peasant seventy years of age. At the same time Galicia produces three times as much corn as would properly support its population, which amounts to upwards of four millions, but the taxes are so high, and money is so scarce, that very often the whole crop does not suffice to pay the Kaiser his direct taxes.

The wily German has taken for basis of taxation the price of corn in 1792, because there was at that time much more money than at present, and that the price of corn was higher on account of the war.

Thus the peasants and the lords themselves pay the direct taxes at the rate of eight shillings the Hectolitre, but when the government seizes corn in payment of taxes it sells it at the rate of ten pence, or even as low as five pence for the same measure.

The grower, that he may be able to

satisfy the imperial rapacity is allowed to export, that he may find money abroad. A year of plenty and a full crop does not alleviate the misery of the agriculturists, because then either the price of corn diminishes, or the Kaiser increases the rate of taxation.

A Polish nobleman who has but a single village, consisting of forty or fifty peasants' huts, with three or four thousand acres, with mills, ponds, and public houses upon them, is often not able to pay the schooling of his two sons.

Out of one hundred proprietors the property of ninety is seized, sequestered, or eventually sold to pay the taxes.

A body of the landholders made a written declaration in which they assigned over their property to the Kaiser on condition of his granting them subsistence, but the Kaiser refused to accept their offer; he even desired the authorities in future not to trans-

mit to Vienna such declarations of which he could not take cognisance.

Up to 1815 the Kaiser made the wars with France a pretext for extortion.

After that war, that is to say in 1817, direct taxation was doubled, and even trebled, and the befehl which announces this increase contains these words, "that it is during war that wounds are received, and that peace is the proper time for curing them."

* There is no aristocracy properly so called in Galicia or even Austria. The Kaiser is absolute master, his agents only the first of his slaves. They do not even form a bureaucracy, because they have no

* The author here loses sight of Hungary, perhaps the only European country besides England in which an aristocracy in any thing but name can still be said to exist. EDITOR.

power excepting to execute the will of their master.

The diet of Gallicia, established in 1817, is convoked every year in the month of October.

It is composed of four estates ; Firstly, the Ecclesiastical ; Secondly, that of Magnates ; Thirdly, that of Szlachta ; and Fourthly, the Burgher estate. The first estate is represented by all the Archbishops, Bishops, and two Delegates from each chapter ; the second estate comprises all the Princes, Counts, and Barons ; the third estate contains all the Szlachcis or ancient Polish Militia which the Kaiser had assimilated to the Germanic Knights (Ritter.) In order for a Szlachcis to appear at the diet and bear the title of Nuncio, he must be acknowledged as Knight by the Emperor, and pay to the Kaiser 75 florins (£ 6) yearly, as Seignorial tax.

That is to say for the right of exacting forced labour from the Polish peasantry.

The German peasants are not subjected to forced labour—they are free.

The fourth estate comprises two deputies from the capital, Leopol, one of whom is always Burgomaster of Leopol, and the other a citizen of Lepol, chosen by the Burgomaster. The Burgomaster is always a thorough bred German, and a stranger not only to the town but also to Gallicia ; he is besides a secret councillor of the Kaiser's (Geheimrath.)

The Diet, thus composed, meets and disperses on the day fixed upon by the Kaiser. It is expressly forbidden the Diet to interfere in all matters relative to public administration.

It is only allowed to occupy itself with the means of augmenting the productions of the country.

The right of petition is granted to it on

condition that the petition be signed by the Governor.

This parody is enacted with great mock solemnity.

The whole garrison is drawn out in line and presents arms to these *legislators*, who go in carriages to the Diet. The Catholic Archbishop, *Primas Regni*, drives in a gilt carriage, surrounded by twelve lacqueys or chasseurs, drawn by six horses and preceded by a Canon mounted on a white horse, and holding in his two hands a crucifix about nine feet high.

To increase his consequence, the Archbishop, who calls himself the most humble servant of God, thus causes his horses, coachmen, huntsmen, and lacqueys to be preceded by an effigy of his crucified Saviour, who opens the procession of his servant the Archbishop.

The Pagan Pontiffs carried with their

own hands the emblems of their divinities, but the haughty Austrian priests use the image of their Maker to lead the train of their equipages and servants.

The government rewards and marks of distinction are orders and titles.

Orders are very rare and therefore much esteemed.

The title of Baron is only granted in Poland to Jews and Néophytes.

The Germans themselves pretend that the origin and etymology of the title is judaical.

The Poles are only ambitious of and only purchase the title of Count.

All subscriptions for the sufferers by inundations or fire, whether native or foreign, entered into without the permission of the Circle of the Gubernium or of the Aulic Council, are severely forbidden, under pe-

nalty of confiscation of funds, and imprisonment of persons.

The arts and trades are united in distinct bodies (Zunft.)

Each guild or company has its master, deputy master, and assistant.

The period of apprenticeship is fixed from three to seven years, according to the trade, and after the expiration of this legal term, the apprentices obtain the certificate of their freedom and companionship.

After three or four years companionship, the companion has a right to present himself for examination, and receives a diploma as Master, on payment of the legal taxes and stamps.

To entitle a master to exercise a trade upon his own account, he must buy a licence from the Kaiser.

The sum which may be placed by an in-

dividual in the savings bank at once or several times, is neither fixed nor limited.

The reimbursement takes place 8, 10, or 30 days after the demand.

Fireworks and the illumination of houses is forbidden without the permission of government. On the arrival of the Kaiser Francis at Leopol, the police had ordered the inhabitants to illuminate their houses for three consecutive nights. The good Kaiser having learnt this the day after the first illumination, forbade it for the next two nights, observing to his governor, the Baron Dauer—"It is better for my subjects to make money by exporting and selling abroad the tallow which they would uselessly burn."

In the whole of Gallicia there are only two or three insignificant gratuitous hos-

pitals for the sick; admission requires special interest and government sanction.

At Leopold it is a gubernial councillor who grants permission of admittance.

The expense of these hospitals is defrayed by the revenue derived from the tax on forced labour of the Polish peasantry.

It is needless to say that the Germans have the preference of admission. The hospital called General, only receives the sick, in consideration of payment ; it is a joint-stock speculation of which the profits are shared between the town corporation and the Kaiser.

Begging is forbidden, but there is no provision made for the poor and aged.

As there is however no rule without an exception, mendicity is allowed in the Kaiser's own family. The Kaiser's wife has the privilege of asking pin-money of the

Poles. The Kaiser Francis married successively four wives. The last, a Bavarian Princess, now the widowed Queen Mother, came to Galicia with her husband in 1822, to beg of the Poles her pin-money.

Having learnt that the Polish noblemen proposed to offer 75,000 florins (6000£) in paper money, the Kaiserinn graciously expressed her desire to have the present changed into Dutch ducats, and also impressed upon them the propriety of presenting these ducats in a gold box.

The Poles generously offered her fifteen thousand Dutch ducats enclosed in a gold box.

The Kaiser and his family are not accustomed to leave even a few florins for the poor.

There is even a German proverb which runs —“ the Kaiser takes but never gives.”

The Kaiserinn, on the occasion in question,

briefly thanked the Poles (hab dank, "you are thanked,) and departed.

In Hungary the Queens have a custom of demanding a present for shoes—a noble Hungarian, who did not like the Germans, in paying his quota of the present, observed to the soliciting Baron.—“Your Kaiserinn might go barefoot, it is warm weather now.” It was the month of July.

The bankruptcies of the Vienna Bankers are generally believed to be mere commercial speculations.

None but foreigners, unlucky Turks, Frenchmen and Russians, lose their millions by them.

The Empire, that is to say, the Kaiser and the members of the Imperial family, place their savings advantageously with these Vienna bankers whose credit they wish

to raise, withdrawing their capital a few days before their bankruptcy.

The Austrian Germans unharness the horses belonging to the carriage of a celebrated actress and drag it themselves, but they decline attending paid concerts.

Prince Metternich understands the art of drawing to the Capital rich strangers, and of inducing them to spend large sums. He personally knows how to make a great show at little cost. He is in the habit of inviting artists, and particularly foreign artists, to play and sing in his drawing-rooms, and rewards them with six or twelve bottles of Johannisberg.

The sordid parsimony of the chief of the house of Habsburg, and of Metternich, is proverbial in Gallicia.

They do not travel to foreign countries to

avoid expense, and never display either charitable generosity or liberality in rewarding services. It is the chief aim of their policy to draw to Vienna all the treasures of the earth.

The inns and-hotels are very scarce in the large towns and watering places of the Austrian Empire, frequented by strangers.

To found these establishments permission must be obtained from the Gubernium, and is only granted to a few privileged persons, who agree to pay, as tax, a certain sum to the Kaiser.

The government, on its part, undertakes not to allow any one for a certain period, to set up any rival inns or hotels ; and in this manner the Kaiser, and those who divide with him this monopoly share its profits. The same process takes place with regard to

all manufactories, printing establishments, &c. &c.

Nomade Royalties, who bring with them millions, and wealthy strangers, are treated with the greatest attention and respect, and are enticed by every imaginable means.

The poor, on the contrary, are not even admitted.

The free and independent press of France protects fifty thousand unfortunate Prussian and Austrian mendicants in Paris, and reserves the shafts of its wit for wealthy travellers.

This is laudable on the score of humanity, but decidedly at variance with the interests of the country.

If we narrowly examine the internal administration of the Austrian Empire, it is not difficult to perceive that M. Ochsenhausen von Metternich governs the Austrian

States rather according to German interests than in accordance with interests of the House of Habsburg. Futurity will inform us whether it will be the dynasty of Habsburg or Brandenburg that will be driven from Germany.

It may be recollected on the occasion of the firing of a gun or pistol at the Czar Nicholas in the Prussian States at Posen in 1839 or 1840, the German writers gave out everywhere that the assassin was a Pole.* The commission appointed to investigate the matter discovered nothing ; on the other hand persons, high placed in Austria and Prussia, say, underhand, that the shot was fired at Nicholas by a

* In St. Petersburg it is commonly believed that the shot was fired from one of the carriages of the Imperial suite,

German, a secret agent of the Cabinets of Vienna and Berlin and of their policy ; and with the view of rendering the Poles hateful to the Tsar, and of forcing him to abandon to them the left bank of the Vistula.

CHAPTER III.

Peasants.--National Militia Szelachta.--Proprietors--
Nobles--Burghers--Germans.

To enable the reader more readily to understand and appreciate the *befehls*, which actually influence the condition of the peasantry and landholders, it is necessary to lay before him the relative position in which they mutually stood before the invasion,

which the Austrians call revindication of the kingdoms of Gallicia and Ladomeria.

To make the Poles, as well as Europe, lose all traces of Poland, the Germans only give the title of Poland to the portion occupied by Russia. Whilst they were masters of the whole of ancient Poland, and of its two capitals, Cracow and Warsaw—that is to say from 1795 up to the treaty of Tilsit, concluded in 1807, they gave it the title of oriental Gallicia, and Poland was effaced from the geographical map.

* In ancient times, the only distinction

* This historical assumption as to the origin of the Szchlacta, is rejected by the modern authorities, whose recent investigations have brought to light evidence, that the noble or military class both in Poland and Lithuania was a distinct and conquering race, or a compound of successive conquering races, like the admixture formed by the amalgamation of Saxons, Danes and Normans in the British Isles.

There appears however always to have existed a

amongst the inhabitants consisted in their different occupations.

Those who cultivated the soil were called labourers.

Those who defended it against foreign invasion were called at first Szlachcic, from the German word, Schlacht, which signifies battle. A small number of Burghers were artizans or traders.

Viscounts, Marquesses or Barons were unknown in ancient Poland, until the end of the tenth century ; and even afterwards the government of Poland was of a democratical character.

pirit rather of appropriating merit by admitting it into its ranks, than of any aristocratic exclusion in the Szlachta, so that, after all, it may chiefly have been recruited from the aboriginal population. It is also indubitable that the servitude of the peasantry was a comparatively recent abuse.

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The Russian provinces retained it till the end of the fifteenth century.

There are neither in Poland, nor in the Russian provinces, Feudal castles, nor old names.

All the names terminating in *ski* are adjectives, taken from the names of parishes, animals, plants, or the imagination; and those names date only from the sixteenth century. The Polish names terminating in *wicz*, are derived from families, and have an earlier origin.

The throne being elective, the King could not create an hereditary nobility, and had not even the right of conferring any title.

With the exception of those of Prince and Duke (*Woiéwodea*) all others are of German or Russian creation, and consequently exotic and anti-Polish.

The Poles bearing these titles, who acquired them at the cost of Polish inde-

pendence, are Counts or Barons, but not Polish Barons or Counts. The Szlachta forms what is now called the second rate nobility.

It is essentially Polish, and notwithstanding its ignorance and vices it is attached to Poland and identified in interest with its destinies. It is still mindful of the original of its institution. which was the defence of its country's independence and nationality. Hence the noble pride and intrepidity of a good Polish Szlachcic.

The Kaiser sees it ; he therefore gradually transforms the Szlachcic into Austrian nobles. Counts, Vis-counts, Barons, Marquisses, and similar creations illustrative of the darkness of despotism and slavery form the court and ignoble train of the house of Hapsburg, and of other sovereigns and dynasties.

They are the liveried slaves and cham-

pions of a dynasty rather than the defenders of the country.

Such mercenaries have never hesitated and never will hesitate to fight in the ranks of a foreign soldiery against their country and in favour of a dynasty.

The Polish Szlachta only expatriates itself to fight for its country—the Counts and Marquisses expatriate themselves to fight against it.

There exists therefore a great distinction between the Polish Szlachcic nobility and the monarchical nobility of other countries. The Pole who fought for his country was its true national militia its Szlachciu. Amongst the Polish Princes, the Princes Czartoryski are distinguished by their patriotic efforts to maintain the Polish language and nationality. The president of the Polish insurrectionary government of 1830, Prince Adam

Czartoryski, surpasses all the other nobles as as the cypress tree surpasses the white briony. *Quantum lenta solent inter viburna cupressi.*

All the Polish lands belonged to the republic. Government had no right to alienate a single inch of its territory, and could only bestow its usufruct.

The lands of each parish were divided into three classes.

First the lands of the court termed *dworskie*. Second : The free lands whose revenue belonged to the national militia. (Szlachta) as a reward for its military service in time of war ; and Thirdly : The taxed lands.

The peasantry settled on these lands were obliged, instean of pecuniary taxes, to cultivate, gratis, the lands of the court. Burghers occupying these lands being obliged to pay their taxes in money.

What the Szlachcic were in Northern Poland the Cossaks were in Southern. It was these same Cossacs, called Scythians, who resisted the invasions of Cyrus, Darius, and Alexander the Great ; and who gained the famous battle against the Amazons, of which Herodotus speaks in his History, book iv. c. 110—116.

Much has been said of the Cossaks though they have been little understood. Up to the period when the civil, political, and religious tyranny of the Polish Szlachcic, inspired by the Jesuits, forced the Cossack nobles to detach themselves from Poland and seek the protection of Russia, they had quite a democratical organisation.

Even now they enjoy perfect equality amongst themselves. They are virtuous and hospitable, free of all taxes, but obliged to furnish to the Russian government an equipped and mounted horseman.

By degrees the Polish militia (*Szlachta*) seized the government, disposed of royalty, which it sold, like the Roman *Prætorian* bands, and degenerated into tyrants towards their labouring brethren.

The Polish government had not a right to alienate the landed property, but it could grant to the citizens, for life, the national revenue, wholly or in part, of one or more parishes.

The government made extensive use of this privilege to recompense its partizans and favorites; and those who enjoyed the usufruct for life found means, more particularly at the election of kings, during an interregnum, of transmitting this usufruct to their successors, and even to become hereditary proprietors and lords of parishes.

As all those who enjoyed the usufruct were, at the same time, military men, and

legislators, they illtreated, oppressed with imposts, and abused at pleasure, by the right of the strongest, the labourers who had no share in the government.

The duty of cultivating the national domains (dvorskie) instead of the taxes and military service, was changed into seigniorial forced labour. Everything was precarious, and nothing was regulated in this government of the sword.

There is no Polish law which reduces the Polish labourer to a state of slavery ; they were only illtreated by cruel lords because they were weak, unarmed ; and they were weak because they lived despised in the country.

When their lords were killed in battle, or died without posterity, the labourers were free and happy, and even enjoyed for a period the revenue of the lords.

History tells us that the Austrians seized upon the most fertile part of Poland without striking a blow, and under the mask of friendship.

The Poles, under the command of their king Sobieski, only went to Austria to deliver it from Turkish slavery; in offering this assistance the Poles were only actuated by a humane and religious commiseration for the misfortunes of the Germans.

The chivalrous Poles did not even ask reimbursement of the expenses of their expedition.

In return, the Germans came into Poland to root out all vestiges of liberty and prosperity, to render the Polish lords labourers, and the Polish Burghers slaves.

If the policy by which Austria gained possession of Poland was jesuitical, that which it employed to maintain itself there

might be termed diabolical. Firstly to demoralise, corrupt, and seduce the all-powerful Szlachta, which had delivered up Poland without striking a blow ; the Kaiserinn Maria Theresa assimilated it to the petty German nobility, and granted to these Polish prætorians and their legitimate descendants the hereditary title of knight, (Ritter) with the prospect of becoming an Austrian Count on payment of a tax of 600£.

This concession turned the heads of the Polish republicans who did not expect so much generosity from the Germans, and who looked, and still look upon the title of Count, as the height of honor and human felicity. Maria Theresa then exempted the Szlachcie from military service, not in order to spare them, but because she feared their turbulent spirit and love of independence.

Austria besides maintained the *statu quo* of landed property without enquiring too much into the title.* She maintained forced labour, but at the same time obliged the labourers to do military service, and to pay direct and indirect taxes, from which they had been exempted at the time of the Polish republic.

The Austrian yoke, therefore, fell most heavily on the peasants and burghers.

The substance of the *befehl* of 1786, which regulates, until the present day, the mutual intercourse of landlords and peasants is as follows.

Firstly, the peasants must work gratis

* The last act of the last Diet which ever sat for the whole of independent Poland, had struck at the root of the abuse of forced labour, as well as many others by the article of the famous constitution which it proclaimed on the third of May 1791,

for their lord. This forced labour, called *robot*, is stipulated at three days at most, per week. If the peasant possess a plough, a waggon, and a team, he must furnish a waggon, team, and two men, exclusive of the three days weekly labour. The peasants who have neither cottages nor land, and who living on the lands merely as tenants, work only twelve days a year.

The *befehl* fixes the duration of this labour from sunrise to sunset.

Those subject to forced labour work therefore, in summer more than seventeen hours a day. They are only allowed one hour's rest, and as they must present themselves every evening to the agent, called *econome*, to obtain his counter-mark, and rise long before dawn, particularly when the seignorial lands are far from their cottages

they cannot in such cases obtain more than three or four hours rest at the utmost.

Every year the Polish proprietors in a body present a petition to the Kaiser, praying him to concede four days a week forced labour during harvest time.

The Kaiser always grants the fourth day, and he makes them pay for this concession six kreutzes (five pence) per team with the labourers.

The Kaiser is thus interested in the maintenance of ordinary and extraordinary forced labour, because he divides the profit with the lords, or rather he absorbs it altogether.

The lords are only imperial jailers, and only possess the right of striking with impunity the Polish labourers.

They are obliged to pay, firstly, to the Kaiser under the head of Seignisrial tax, as

much as eighty per cent. of produce of the forced labour ; and secondly, to maintain at their own expense two functionaries, a justiciary, and mandatarius, whom without forced labour the Kaiser would be obliged to pay out of the state revenue. Secondly, the lords who beat or ill-treat their peasants pay to the Kaiser a fine of ten-pence for each blow given. This fine is itself a sort of tax.

To take away from the lords the desire of illtreating their peasants it was proposed to the Kaiser to grant the peasantry permission to defend themselves, or to raise the fine to ten florins per blow : “ But then the lords will not ill-treat their peasants at all, and my treasury will gain nothing,” answered the good Kaiser. Besides the concession to the proprietors of the right of striking their peasantry on the payment of ten-pence per

blow, has the appearance of a prohibition, but a jesuitical one, very likely to foment hatred between the peasant and his lord, and to keep the labourers, who still preserve—and indeed chiefly constitute Polish nationality—in a state of degradation. The cruelty of the Polish lords to their peasantry surpasses all that can be imagined.

The Polish Kanczuk is more cruel than the Russian knout or German stock. The lords and their agents tear out their ears, put out their eyes, shave their heads with reaping hooks, break their ribs, their arms, their teeth, and illtreat them with blows of the fist, stock and kanczuk. The Polish noblemen, Andrew Nowakowski, John Szeptycki and others surpassed in cruelty the most savage brigands.

It must however be admitted, that for some time past a reconciliation is beginning

to take place between the lords and peasantry ; humanity is beginning to dawn even in Austrian Poland.*

Thirdly, the Polish peasantry pay to the Kaiser a direct tax on the lands which they possess and cultivate for their own account. Without taking into account the forced labour and tithe they pay already, they are in the distribution of taxation looked upon and rated as free proprietors.

Relatively to the robot, it is however the lords who are considered as proprietors of these same lands, the peasants only as serfs. In 1820 or 1821 the gubernium asked of the Aulic Chancellery, to whom belonged the proprietorship of the lands possessed by

* This is evidently what the Austrian cabinet dreaded.

the peasants? The Kaiser only gave an evasive answer, and this was to be expected, because if it had been decided that the proprietorship of these lands belonged to the peasants, their forced labour must have been abolished, and the Kaiser would have lost more than three millions of florins of seignorial direct and indirect taxes. If the proprietorship had on the other hand been adjudged to the lords, the peasants could only in justice be forced to pay the direct land tax which they now pay, and the Kaisers would, equally, have lost the seignorial tax of three millions a year. This iniquitous impost does not exist either in Russian or Prussian Poland.

The lords have not a right to dispossess or drive away the peasants unless they neglect the service of forced labour or cannot work.

The peasants have not a right to abandon at will their cottages or lands, but are obliged to present, and get the lord to accept, another substitute capable of performing the forced labour.

The Polish peasants in Austria are therefore serfs attached to the Glebe.

They are not so in Russian or Prussian Poland.*

* Here, as usual, when speaking of Russian or Prussian Poland, the author falls into error. In nearly half of Poland, inhabited by eight millions of people and incorporated with Russia proper, serfdom cannot be said to exist, because the Russians have introduced actual slavery. In the Russian kingdom of Poland, serfdom was abolished by Napoleon. Nicholas has gradually re-introduced it. In Prussian Poland (Grand Duchy of Posen) the peasantry are free as Napoleon made them, but in the adjacent Prussian Sclavonic province of Silesia the peasantry are still serfs, and have revolted on several points during the present year.

EDITOR.

Every estate which possesses forced labour, constitutes an indivisible and perpetual entail in favour of the eldest son. The father has not a right to divide an estate subject to forced labour amongst his children, but is obliged by the *befehl* to leave it entire and without any diminution to his eldest son, and having no son, to his daughter.

When the actual possessor wishes to cede his estate to another qualified person he can only transfer it intact and undivided. This *befehl* originates in a view of preventing the increase of the Polish population, of hindering increase of consumption unfavorable to the imperial system of extortion, and at the same time of facilitating payment of the taxes. The peasants owe to their lords unlimited obedience.

They must execute the most unjust and iniquitous commands, and it is only after

having executed them that they are allowed to bring their complaints before them, and to await their decision.

Without this previous decision of his lord, the peasant has not a right to make any complaint to the authorities of the Circle or gubernium.

This law accustoms the lords to slavishness towards the Kaiser and his agents. The lords argue thus : " Our peasantry owe us a blind obedience ; we therefore owe the same to the Kaiser, who is our lord." The Polish noblemen imitate their sovereigns, they call the peasants their subjects—their house, which very often is only a cottage, court (*dvor*) ; and the title of your majesty (*Jego Mość*) is given to all noblemen, burghers, priests and *szlachcic* in Poland.

Formerly all *szlachcic* were eligible to the office of King of Poland.

The republican militia has therefore taken the title of Majesty by anticipation.

The peasants who offer the least resistance to the arbitrary commands of their lords are guilty of rebellion and cannot hope for either justice or pity. The peasants of Podkamien, in the circle of Zloczow, refused to work a greater number of days than was ordered by the befehl.

Their lord, Mr. Cetner, an Austrian Count, caused Mr. Charles Sacher, Commissary of the Circle, to be sent for, who presented himself with a squadron of dragoons.

Mr. Sacher called before him the deputies, who are always the elders of the village, and advised them to obey their lord without comment, and to execute his orders without delay. The peasants remarked that the demands of their lord were unjust and contrary to the befehl of his Majesty. "You have a

right to complain to your lord," rejoined the Commissary.

" We have complained for the last thirty years," answered the peasant deputies, " we pray to be allowed to quit our village with our families, and be allowed to seek another master."

The Commissary thereupon ordered the deputies to be stretched one after the other on the ground, and beat with the stock by two corporals.

Notwithstanding the advanced age of the deputies, the youngest of whom was seventy years of age, they suffered patiently and with resignation the first six rounds apiece.

During the execution, the peasants, book in hand, chaunted litanies.

The second round of twenty strokes each, by two corporals, they could no longer endure, but declared themselves guilty, and

submitted to the arbitrary will of their lord. The observation was made to them in cruel jest, " You see that you must not in future trust to your Saints, Saintesses, and Virgin Mothers."

This instance is one out of a hundred thousand which I could have cited, because one I happen to remember as having taken place beneath my own eyes.

It is strictly forbidden the lords to free their peasants in a body from forced labour.

I say the Polish peasantry, to distinguish them from the German peasants, who are not subject to forced labour or to military conscription.

It is however allowed to enfranchise any individual peasant, but then the permission must be obtained of the authorities of the Circle of the Gubernium, and of the tribunal

of justice. Enormous taxes must be paid on stamps, and the travelling expenses of Commissaries, etc., etc., defrayed. So that since the revindication of Poland * by the Austrians in 1772 up to the present day a single instance of enfranchisement has perhaps not occurred.

The towns, burghs and villages which at the period of the Austrian Invasion were free, that is to say had no lords, fell a prey to the Kaiser, who declared them to be part of his property and domains.

* So termed because Austria like the other spoliating powers in seizing portions of the Polish territory, which it appropriated, set forth claims to it, more preposterous, than if the Roman Pontiff, or the King of Saxony were to claim the British Isles, because formerly in the possession of the Roman Emperor, or the Saxon Heptarchy.

EDITOR.

The Kaiser sold by degrees to private persons these towns, burghs, and villages, including the lands and inhabitants.

In 1826 or 1827 an extraordinary instance occurred.

For the first time since the establishment of the Austrian government in Poland, an entire village, the name of which I do not recollect, being put up to auction by the Kaiser, offered him the price at which it was valued, and requested permission to purchase itself. Prince Lobkowitz, Governor of Galicia, submitted this extraordinary case to the decision of the Kaiser Francis, who answered, that it was impossible to grant any parish the right of purchasing itself. The village was therefore put up to auction like many others, and sold to a private individual, who became its proprietor.

The Polish nobles, Vincent Zabolicki,

Leon Zalewski, and others, who in 1834 and 1835 emancipated of their own accord the peasantry, their countrymen and serfs, were arrested and condemned *ad carcerem durissimum*, as guilty of rebellion.

They now expiate this misdemeanor in the Fortress of Spielberg.

The Russian government since 1808 has ordered the emancipation of the slaves and invited the lords to endow them with landed property, but found opposition on the part of the Russian Polish and German proprietors.*

* The only emancipation of slaves which the Russian government has ever sanctioned has been their transference from the bondage of individuals to the Imperial domain, which comprises one-and-twenty millions of slaves, the emperor's private property.

Besides the forced labour of 150 days a year to the Kaiser's advantage, and besides the tithes to the Roman Catholic priests, the peasants are obliged to work gratis five days a year, to repair and make the roads called Kaiser Strasse. the revenue of which goes to the Kaiser. This forced labour is called Scharwerk. During the months of April, May, June, and July, nearly all the Polish peasantry without exception live upon roots and herbs—it is only those amongst the peasantry who are termed rich who can afford to eat bread made of buck-wheat, oatmeal, barley, and sometimes rye. The poorer people live upon potatoes without any grease.

Gallicia exports annually more than two millions of Hectolitres of wheat, but does not know anything of wheaten bread. The proprietors themselves, without exception,

eat rye bread. The cakes and small wheaten rolls which are made in the more considerable towns, are highly taxed, looked upon as articles of luxury, and as such not submitted to the tariff regulations as to price. On the other hand, the surplus of exports over imports, which constitutes a clear revenue to the Kaiser, is facilitated and allowed even during a period of famine. Scarcity is thus the normal state of Gallicia.

The habitations of the Polish peasantry who are under the Paternal Austrian government since 1772, are cottages thatched with straw, sometimes constructed with a few deals, or trunks of trees placed one on the other and bound at the corners with osiers ; at other times they are made of wattles plastered inside and out with mud. Light is admitted into their cottages through a hole furnished with green glass from three to six inches in diameter.

Generally speaking there are no chimneys, but in the centre of the room there is an oven or hearth, on which the fire is lit to warm the room in winter, and to cook the family victuals all the year round.

The smoke escapes through the interstices of the door.

The locks of the cottage, barn, and of all other rustic buildings are of wood ; iron is very dear, and is only sold by confidential Germans.

Permission to sell iron goods, or establish a magazine or shop for the sale of tools or any iron instruments, must be asked from the Aulic Chancery at Vienna, and as a precautionary measure these establishments are only allowed in the chief places of the circles and towns where there is always a garrison and well organized police. In winter, the swine, calves, fowls, and men live

together, and sleep on the ground promiscuously.

The peasantry, and in general all servants, even those of noblemen, and all workmen, have neither beds, coverings, nor pillows.

They cover themselves at night with the clothes which they wear in the day time, a little straw serves them as a mattress.

Austrian Poland does not want either wool, cloth, or leather ; but the paternal government forces the inhabitants to work for exportation, and not for their own necessities or benefit. The costume of a Polish peasant consists in summer of a shirt and trowsers of coarse canvass, completed by a peculiar hat of wheaten or rye straw. In winter, the peasants wear above the shirt a brown woollen, felt, seamless wrapper, a sheepskin cap, and thin, cow-hide boots. The wealthiest array themselves in sheepskins in

this season. The kitchen utensils consist of two or three pots in baked clay, one or two earthen pans, a tripod, and a few spoons in common wood.

This is the state of three millions, five hundred thousand Austrian Polish peasants, who are without question—more unfortunate than the Prussian or Russian peasants, more miserable than the negroes brought up or sold in Africa. Yet there exists in Paris an association of generous Frenchmen for the emancipation of the negroes, but none for the emancipation of the Polish peasantry, white slaves of the paternal Austrian Government. These white Polish slaves who exist only on roots and herbs give to the Kaiser a clear revenue of from seven to ten millions of florins a year

I call a clear revenue what remains to

the Kaiser after deducting all expenses for the administration of Gallicia.

The Austriaco-Polish Diet of 1844, on the motion of Alfred Potocki, Polish Duke, (Waivode) and Austrian Count, addressed a petition to the Kaiser, requesting to be allowed to enfranchise the Polish peasantry from forced labour and to grant them a property in the lands which they had cultivated for centuries. This was called a *coup d'état*, a rebellion ! Before the revolution of 1830, Potoski would have expiated his humane sentiments in the dungeons of Spielberg.*

* This indicates at least a diminution of the evil of despotism. In Russia on the contrary, an individual would be sent to Siberia in 1846 for the expression of opinions which would only have drawn down a reprimand in 1830.

Since that period, however, the German has been obliged to dissimulate his anger, on account of the danger threatening his despotism and throne. The immediate result of the abolition of forced labour would, however, have been to cause a diminution of two and a half millions of florins net revenue which the Kaiser levies on the lords as seignorial tax, and also have had the effect of uniting the peasantry and landholders, who, at present, hate each other. The financial interest, and Machiavelian policy of *divide et impera* are opposed to the abolition of forced labour.

The Kaiser knows the force of public opinion, and endeavours to give every act of his government a varnish of justice.

He therefore, to color his refusal, instituted a commission to enquire into the means of indemnifying the Kaiser for the loss of

2,500,000 florins a year, his share of forced labour, and also the lords for the loss of 2,500,000 or 3,000,000 florins yearly, and the Catholic priests for about 1,000,000 worth of tithes which they would forfeit by this emancipation of the peasantry from the robot. The easiest solution of these questions on the Kaiser's part, would be to exact from Poland under the name of taxes or imposts merely the sums necessary to net a revenue to the Kaiser of from 7,500,000 to 10,000,000 florins, and to indemnify the Polish proprietors by means of the sums which arise from the sale of national property, which amount to more than 4 millions sterling, accumulated in the Imperial coffers under the denomination of savings.

The Diet dare not say to its Kaiser that he plunders from seven to ten millions florins a year, and any other plan must re-

main without result because the peasantry and their lords are exhausted and indebted.

The Germans in Austrian, Russian, and Prussian Poland may be divided into three classes. Firstly, the German who only come to drain, to spy upon, or enslave it, in the form of traders, lacqueys, and civil, military, or spiritual agents of the government. It is this refuse of the German population and of its penniless and vagabond nobility which is known in Poland and Russia under the name of "*German Vermin*."

The Czar Nicholas himself gives them this title.

Nothing can be more servile, abject, and devoid of all dignity and humanity than a German in Poland and Russia in the service of the Czar or Kaiser. Unfortunately all the children of a German Baron or Count, are born Barons or Counts.

Poland and Russia are infested with these ignoble pests. Secondly, the Germans who are engaged in arts or trades either as masters or workmen.

These as a class are useful and honest.

The greater number of them become eventually Polish in feeling and even patriotically Polish. The Germans and Jews who become proprietors in the towns and villages are, in general, milder and more humane towards their Polish peasantry than the proprietors of Polish birth and origin. To the third class belong the German peasants vulgarly called colonists. These colonies in Austrian Poland form strategic points, and are situated more particularly towards the Russian frontier. These establishments have German names even in the heart of Poland. All the colonists without exception are of

the Evangelical persuasion, and each has its pastor and German school.

To induce the German peasants to establish themselves in Gallicia the Government gives them gratis a waggon, two horses, agricultural implements, a wooden house, a barn, and thirty or forty *morgen* of land.

The colonists are exempt from all taxes for twenty years, they and their descendents are free of the conscription that is to say military service.

These colonists are generally speaking in easy circumstances. They do not connect themselves at all with the Polish Catholic peasantry who are subject to forced labour and whom they despise.

The Catholic religion is thus apparently dominant : all external and political honours are rendered to it, but in reality it is the Evangelical faith, and the Austrian

subjects belonging to it, who enjoy all moral and material advantages and emoluments. Protestantism is in fact identified with German nationality.

Mr. Ochsenhausen von Metternich and the Habsburgh Kaiser cannot act otherwise.

To comfort the Catholics under this inferiority the Evangelical Germans say to them ironically, "You Catholics are burdened here below with tithes, forced labour, taxes, military service, etc., etc. From these we Protestants are exempted, but be of good cheer, after death, you will be for ever exempted from these charges, and we shall be oppressed and burdened with them through eternity! What are the miseries of this terrestrial life compared to the celestial joys of eternity?"

CHAPTER IV.

JEWS.

The establishment of the Jews in Poland dates from the fourteenth century. The persecutions they endured in Germany, and the privileges accorded to them by the government of Poland, naturally drew them towards this latter country ; and thus it is, that the Jews speak no other than the German language more or less corrupt, and,

that all, like the Germans, occupy themselves in commerce or trade. They exercise in preference the profession of general dealers, tailors, jewellers, goldsmiths, money-changers, brokers, sellers of spirituous liquors, horse jobbers, watchmakers, and usurers, but it is rare to meet amongst them with either shoemakers, masons, blacksmiths, locksmiths, or labourers. Their number amounts in Gallicia to 340,000 souls. The men universally read and write Hebrew. They are all active, laborious, religious, and intelligent, and notwithstanding this political and religious slavery, notwithstanding the poverty they suffer, a degree of which no idea can be formed in any other part of Europe, still they retain sentiments of humanity and liberty. I never in my life saw an Austrian German, either catholic or Protestant, give alms or any other succour to

a poor Pole, whilst on the contrary I have often seen the Jews assist, lodge, and entertain unfortunate Poles. Their love of liberty is so great, that they prefer dying of hunger to cultivating the land, and becoming subject to the blows of the Polish Signors (Kanczuck,) and to the degrading toil which deadens all human feeling, and brutalizes the masters even more than it does the peasants. But the extreme want under which they languish renders them knavish, and easily corrupted by the oppressive government, and therefore they in common with all the other Austrian Germans in Gallicia serve as spies.

They are forbidden to possess or farm mills, ponds, breweries, or distilleries, or to sell spirituous liquors with the exception of wine.

They are only allowed to live in the

country as labourers and they have quarters assigned to them in the town. The town of Brody, situated at about one hundred yards from the Russian frontier, is the only European town, the whole of whose inhabitants are Jews, the Austrian functionaries being only Christians. It is the most commercial town in Gallicia—and it possesses the right of importing free, all merchandise and indigenous or foreign produce, and importing them into Russia either by legal means or otherwise.

Relatively to Austria, it is looked upon as a foreign town and surrounded by custom-houses and offices of the customs. The Jews are subject to military service, but, like all other subjects, are allowed to redeem this obligation on paying to the Kaiser 300 florins, (about £30). It is forbidden the Jews to have Christians in their service

They cannot marry without the permission of the Circles, who only give the permission to Jewish men and women, who, after having been examined by the Captain and Secretary of the Circle, can obtain certification of being able to read, write, and reckon in German. Marriages contracted without this permission are looked upon as illegal.

The extreme poverty of the greater part of the Israelites neither allows them to learn to write or read in German, to purchase the permission, nor to pay the stamps and taxes.

Out of one hundred marriages, ninety-nine are illegal.

The Austrian government nevertheless proceeds with a degree of cruelty unheard of in Europe against these hapless wretches married without the sanction of the Circle.

It orders administration of blows of the stock (cane) to the men, and the women to be flogged with rods.

They are then separated, and each are sent back to the place of his or her birth.

The children of these marriages are considered as illegitimate, and being abandoned die of hunger and misery.

The Jews, who, contrary to the *befehl* of the Kaiser, are found in the country as proprietors or farmers of inns, mills, or ponds, are condemned by the Circle to a considerable pecuniary fine, and to blows of the stock.

The Mosaic worship is tolerated, and the government grants to the Israelites, on payment of a tax, permission to build synagogues ; but the Catholics are forbidden under pain of death to embrace the Jewish persuasion.

The Jewish priesthood are all equal amongst themselves ; and their form of worship, being divested of the hierarchical character distinguishing the Catholic clergy, is less favorable to the exigences of absolutism than the Roman faith. The Hebrew clergy is paid by the Jewish parishes. The Mosaic religion only acknowledges one God and Moses as his prophet ; it admits eternal life, but does not recommend love to one's neighbour of a different persuasion. It does not acknowledge male or female saints.

This religion, which is the basis and source of the Christian faith, whose founder was the countryman of Christ, and which, notwithstanding the persecutions it has endured from heterodox monarchs and nations, has maintained itself through four thousand years, deserves in this enquiring age the scrutiny and attention of philosophers and statesmen.

The clergy is not a body which does not blindly obey a chief, but reasons and does not abandon its individuality in favour of a sect, is less dangerous for a free government and individual liberty.

Those religions or forms of worship which are divested of intellectual or moral strength, endeavour to crush or terrify reason by the array and compactness of their submissive and degraded priesthood. It is allowed the Jews of the other Austrian provinces to transfer their domicile to Galicia, but on the other hand permission is only granted those Polish Jews to establish themselves at Vienna or in the German provinces, who can prove themselves in possession of ten thousand florins, ready money.

Besides the taxes and imposts of all descriptions which the Jews pay in common with other Austrian subjects, they are sub-

ject besides as Jews for the toleration of their religion to the imposition of a million of florins a year, (without reckoning the expences of levying, which amount to more than half a million). This tax is raised on meat of all kinds, and on the candles which the Jews burn on their sabbath.

It is known in Gallicia, under the title of *Koskerfleisch aufschlag, und Lickterzundungs-aufschlag*.

The re-partition and levying of this tax takes place in the following manner:—The Gubernium allots every year the sum required by the Kaiser to the 19 Circles, and the quota of each Circle is farmed by auction to the highest bidder.

The Circle and farmer then make a re-partition of the quota part on the Jewish parishes of the Circles.

The Burgomaster, farmers, or sub-farmers allot to individuals, and then they proceed to the levying. If, after the first re-partition and exaction, persons are found who cannot pay all or part of this ransom money, a fresh re-partition is made of the portion of the insolvable on those who are solvent. A third, fourth, and even tenth re-partition thus extends to the wealthiest individuals, until the sum demanded by the Kaiser is raised, as well as the expense of levying is defrayed.

When the assessed individuals do not pay exactly to the time the farmer submits a list of the defaulters to the Circle and asks assistance.

The Circle then sends soldiers whom the defaulters are obliged to lodge, feed, and pay.

This is called a military execution.

A fortnight after, the Circle sends a com-

missiary who presents himself at the habitation of each defaulter—carries off all that he finds upon the premises and sells the effects by auction. The parish then pays the commissary four florins a day and the expences of the journey, for which he is allowed a private carriage and four horses, which are rated at about a florin and a half per league.

When an entire parish becomes insolvent the deficiency is laid to the charge of a richer parish ; “let justice be done,” say the Germans, “though the world perish,” for the Kaiser cannot be the loser. On the day of these exactions nothing is heard but lamentations—men women and children nearly naked in the midst of winter, with twenty or twenty five degrees of cold, are to be seen running after the commissary carrying away the distrained goods. In vain do these miserable

victims of Austrian rapacity, deprived of their linen and most necessary portions of clothing, implore on their knees pity from the unfeeling German. "My Kaiser cannot loose," he repeats at every moment.

Let it not be imagined, that the commissaries seize mere articles of luxury. The Austriaco Polish Jew is a stranger to these.

The commissary opens the cupboards, chests and trunks ; searches the rooms and seizes counterpanes, pillows, sheets, bedding saucepans, chairs, benches, etc., etc., selling for half a florin what is worth five or ten.

A quarter of a pound of bread and one or two onions, with a little salt, constitute the daily food of nineteen out of twenty of the Austriaco Polish Jews.

In Russian Poland there are Jewish capi-

talists, and the Jews in general are at their ease.

In Austrian Poland, on the contrary, there is not a Jew to be found who can dispose of four thousand pounds, and yet the Franckfort Jews, and the Messrs. Rothschild themselves intercede with the Autocrat of Russia in favour of their co-religionaries, who are oppressed in Russian Poland, and abandon those oppressed by the German Autocrat in Austrian Poland. The Kaiser Joseph II ordered the Israelites to shave their beards, and wear the Polish dress of the Austrian Christians. He allowed a period of three years to effect this metamorphosis.

It did not however take place ; firstly because the Israelites bought back from the government the liberty to wear a dress for which they had such a predilection, also be-

cause the government perceived that this change would confound the Israelites with the Germans, both speaking the German language, having the same habits, the same commercial occupations, and differing from each other only by these outward signs.

The Austrian government has powerful reasons for not confounding these homogeneous classes, and for not keeping before the eyes of the Poles this outward distinction.

The Israelites are precluded from exercising Public functions.

CHAPTER V.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Man does not come into the world by his own free will, neither voluntarily as a Pole, Christian, or Musulman.

He becomes these by the will and compulsion of others, by education, instruction, law or befehl.

An individual who is now a good priest or

Austrian agent and thanks heaven for it, might have been a good mufti or mandarin, and would thank heaven equally if he had been born in China or in Turkey. No government knows better than the Austrian the art of denationalising and reducing to servitude a people by the force of the stock and through the intermedium of instruction.

The Austrian schools are divided into three branches. Firstly, the German schools, subdivided into Trivial and Normal. Secondly, Classical schools called Gymnasiums. And thirdly, Universities.

The German schools called Trivial are found established in nearly all the Gallician towns, and are gratuitous. The scholars pay nothing.

Formerly the parents were forced, under a heavy pecuniary penalty to send their sons to the German schools ; but for some time

virtues, to obey the most sublime Kaiser, past the government is less strict.

The course of instruction at the German Trivial schools lasts four years.

In the German Normal schools, which are only established in the principal towns, geography and lineary drawing is taught.

In 1844 the government promised that the teaching Polish grammar should be introduced.

The professors of all three branches belong to the laity, excepting the professor of catechism, who is always the parish priest or his vicar.

They are appointed and paid by the government at the rate of 100, 200, and 300 florins a year. All priests and professors of public instruction are obliged to teach from their pulpits, confessionals or chairs, that it is the holiest duty, the Catholic of Catholic

his befehls and agents, and to denounce either to the priests, professors or magistrates, all evil-disposed persons, their projects and illegal proceedings, and finally to be discreet.

Instruction keeps pace with the befehl of the Kaiser Francis, which says—“ *I do not want prating functionaries but executors of my befehls—submissive, obedient, and silent with regard to public affairs.*”

There is no European government which brings up spiritual and temporal functionaries and spies so obedient, so prompt at denunciation, so taciturn as the Austrian government.

Austrian subjects are forbidden to educate their children out of the country. To be able to send their children to Cracow, they must pay the Kaiser a fine of two hundred ducats a year for each child.

The course followed at the gymnasium lasts six years.

Latin, Greek, German, Arithmetic, the elements of geometry, a little Algebra, geography, the history of Austria, and religion are taught there. In Austria, eleven gymnasiums exist, two of which are at Leopold.

All the pupils are day scholars.

The superior of the gymnasium bears the title of *Prefect*, and enjoys a pension of 800 florins a year ; the professors of the gymnasium are paid at the rate of 400 or 500 florins a year.

The scholars contribute, unless they produce a certificate of poverty, signed by the Burgomaster and curate, in which case they are exempted.

All classical books belonging to the German schools and the gymnasiums are printed

at Vienna, in the Kaiser's office, for printing of which he enjoys the exclusive monopoly.

The course of philosophy is separate from the gymnasium, and takes two years.

The first year, Psychology, Logic, Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra, Universal History, Religion, and the Greek Language are taught. The second year, Natural Philosophy, Mechanics, Experimental Chemistry, Universal History, and Religion. Sometimes when the government is not in want of functionaries, and that the number of students is too great, they add to Philosophy a third year, during which they teach Metaphysics, Literature, and Religion.

No one is admitted to the gymnasium without a certificate of success at the German school, or to philosophy without a certificate of success at the gymnasium. Excepting History and Mathematics, which are

taught in the German language, all the other branches are taught in Latin ; up to 1830 mathematics were also taught in Latin. The professor of psychology and logic, called professor of philosophy, in treating of God and of the soul, makes an exposition of the reasons for and against ; but he has an express order always to conclude with the assurance that the soul is immortal, that God governs the universe and men in particular, that he recompenses the good, and punishes the wicked after death. Amongst other reasons, the professor dwells upon the following—that without the hope of reward after death, the unfortunates and peasants would not submit to forced labour and suffer misery, that they would revolt to be able to enjoy here below the fruits of their labour. On the other hand, the professor of philosophy announces, and often repeats, that

the pupil who would reveal to others an opinion contrary to the conclusions at which he, the professor, had legally arrived, would be brought before the police and declared incapable of filling public functions, or of acting in any public capacity. This mode of treating philosophy by exposing the arguments, *pro* and *con*, is good, because it exercises the judgment of the auditors, who weigh the motives for and against, and leaves to the conscience of the pupil, a free and duly balanced option.

The professor of philosophy ought not to teach like a priest any specified religion, but ought to furnish the pupils the means of forming an independent opinion.

The most indolent and sluggish minds adopt the legal opinion of the professor without examination. The more intelligent and active, examine and form an indepen-

dent opinion, which, according to the befehl, they keep to themselves ; but the prohibition of revealing an opinion contrary to the legal conclusion, has the inconvenience of making hypocritically prudent, or imprudently incredulous, professors and pupils, because the prohibition seems to confirm the idea that the opinion which is contrary to the legal conclusion is conformable to reason and truth, and that the conclusion commanded by the government is only in conformity with its policy.

The philosophical conferences in full class were permitted up to 1810, but since that period they have been forbidden for the following reason—

A student of philosophy aspiring to holy orders, maintained the existence of Providence, and the immortality of the soul. His opponent, Casimer Z., maintained the contrary, with such logical power and

sophistry that the greater part of his young auditory composed of more than 250 pupils applauded and embraced his opinions.

The government, which obtained cognizance of this, forbade all subsequent conferences, and delegated M. Lawrowski, a learned canon, to bring back to the right path the thoughtless youth, and to signify to him that he would be expelled the school and brought before the police, if he did not retract. To show how far youth may be led by its inconsiderate rashness, I will here attempt briefly to recapitulate his argument, of which my readers will duly appreciate the value.

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* The substance of this argument is omitted as it is unfitted for the taste of the British public.

EDITOR.

To be admitted to these courses it is necessary to have gone through a course of philosophy, and be provided with a certificate of success.

The first year is taught natural law, the laws of man, the penal code, and the statistics of European states.

The second year, Roman law.

The first and second quarter, ecclesiastical or canonical law.

The professor of ecclesiastical law is always a layman, and at his lectures not only do the students of law of the second year attend, but also the students of the second year of Theology.

The canonical or ecclesiastical law is exposed after Rechtberger or Doliver's *Jus Ecclesiasticum*. These teach that the church cannot form a state within a state, that the clergy owes an absolute obedience to the

Kaiser, that the Bishop of Rome, called Pope, has no supremacy over the other bishops, and that all bishops are equal, that the deference and priority accorded to the Bishop of Rome arises only from custom, and that it is severely prohibited to correspond directly with the Pope of Rome, or to receive an answer from him without a *Placitum Regium*.

The Polish villages are without any kind of school.

In 1817 the Austrian government invited the noblemen to establish in each village a trivial school, to raise funds for that object and to advise the government of their having complied with its wishes.

Three years after came another befehl, ordering that the funds collected should be secured and deposited in the treasury of the Circles. As soon as this deposit was effected

there came another secret befehl to prevent the establishment of rural schools and to retain the collected funds in payment, of the taxes that were in arrear, and as in Gallicia there is not a village without arrears, (because the tax absorbs more than three fourths of the net revenue,) all the fund collected devolved to government.

The greater part of the Polish and German, proprietors rejoiced, because they pretended that the Polish peasantry after having learned to write and read would not submit to forced labour.

It is forbidden the lay professors and priests to discuss the transubstantiation, that is to say, the authority and power of the priests to transform bread and wine into a living God, the Bulls *in Canea Domini*, on original sin, on the necessity and efficacy of auricular confession—on the immaculate con-

ception of the Holy Virgin, &c. &c. The professor of Ecclesiastical Law, after having read the befehl of the Kaiser, Joseph, adds with Austrian gravity, "that these things are too clear and true to require discussion."

The third year of the course the Civil Code is exposed ; and the fourth year Political Economy and Civil Process.

A befehl only allows the professors of Gymnasiums and German schools to chastise the indolent and disobedient scholars in the presence of their parents ; but the professors do not adhere to this, and arbitrarily punish them with a rod on the naked back. The catechising priests vent their spleen more particularly on those children who cannot understand the Trinity and other transcendent doctrines which are above their age and capacity.

The children having been once punished

and intimidated, afterwards always answer in the affirmative that they understand, and become learned and religious slaves, but without conviction and consequently without sincerity.

In former times only adult and intelligent men were introduced into the mysteries of religion. At present it is children of eight or ten years who learn, like parrots, the most transcendent dogmas and the sublimest mysteries.

Formerly also religion was revered and produced virtue and patriotism. It is now treated with contempt, and produces only hypocrisy and egotism.

The servile Austrian spirit is not belied even amongst the professors. Monsieur Bohrer, professor of political economy, every time that he meets a Gubernial

councillor in the street and more particularly the Baron King, Aulic councillor, stops, uncovers himself, and stands like a Russian soldier on duty as sentinel before his officer, waiting in this attitude until the councillor is past.

The Austrians call this "German civilization."

The distinctive character of the Austrians is, that they are servile to the strong and insolent towards the weak.

The professors and priests in the schools and confessionals strongly forbid the scholars to reveal anything that takes place in the school or confessional.

The spy system is so well developed in Austria that children denounce their parents and parents their children.

The Roman Catholic Archbishop, Count Ankiewicz secretly denounced to the general commanding in Gallicia, Count Fresnel,

a captain who had the misfortune to loose at cards the pay of his company.

The Catholic Archbishop, and the Burgo-master of Leopold are always secret councillors (Geheimrath) of the Kaiser. I say secret and not private councillor in order to preserve the German signification of *Geheimrath* to which from its functions of spy it is entitled.

The secret councillors have a right to address their complaints direct to the Kaiser. All the other authorities address them to their superiors.

It is forbidden to teach the French language in the public schools.

In general the Austrian Germans do not like the French language and hate France.

The priests and royalist emigrants of 1789 contributed considerably to this hatred by representing the French people as impious and anthropophagi

It is severely forbidden the professors and Priests to make or speak about any fresh miracles. The Austrian government which is anti-national for five-sixths of the population fears as much the light of reason as all that exaggerates or corrupts the imagination and produces fanatical stupidity. On the other hand the repetition is often ordered of that passage in the gospel which says "render unto Kaiser that which is Kaiser's." The book which bears the title of Commenius and which is taught in the German classes represents the Kaiser as head of all the sovereigns in Europe.

It is on this account say the professors that the Czar and all Kings present their homage to our Kaiser at Vienna and that he does not return their visits.

CHAPTER VI.

Religion—Form of Worship—Ecclesiastical Government---Holy Austrian Religion---Jesuits.

RELIGION consists in respect for, and fear of God. Its seat is in the heart of man, independent of all lay or ecclesiastical government, and of all forms of worship.

A form of worship is the manner of showing by acts that respect and fear—and depends on the customs and habits of a peo-

ple, and on the policy of the lay or ecclesiastical governments — religion may exist without an outward form of worship, and *vice versa*, the outward form without possessing religion.

The principles of real religion are the existence of one God and eternal life ; the end of real religion is the perfection of man, that is to say, the rendering man as virtuous and happy as possible. All religion which is not based upon these principles is either false or falsified. The religion of Austria has for its exclusive end respect and fear of the Kaiser and obedience to his befehls. True religion, forms of worship, and the priesthood are only the instruments of Austrian religion. Persons professing the same religion or form of worship, compose a society called Church.

Churches have their government or legislative and executive body.

These ecclesiastical governments democratic, oligarchical, or monarchical, are more or less dependent on the lay government.

In Austria, the ecclesiastical government of the priests depends in everything on the lay government of the Kaiser.

Every government and form of worship has its object, which is not always in the interest of true religion.

The laws which are made and the ceremonies which are introduced to attain this end constitute the ecclesiastical policy known in the high region of the Austrian bureaucracy under the title of *Holy Policy*.

The Divine laws are open for the whole world—this code is the universe. God never dictated his laws to any mortal man.—all written laws, all traditions are only human

laws, and mere copies of a Divine law, more or less false or faithful.

The criterion of the conformity of a copied law with its Divine original, the universe, is its popular emanation.

That law which is deciphered and interpreted by the people itself is the most authentic, and is almost Divine, because the voice of the people is the voice of God.

The promulgation of the Austrian catechism, and all ecclesiastical laws of Austria are under the superintendence of the Kaiser government.

It is forbidden the bishops, as well as all other subjects, to publish anything without the approbation of the censorship.

In the same manner that self-conservation is the chief motive of human societies, public bodies and assemblages of men in most of their actions, in a like manner we

share in common with animals a vivid feeling of self-preservation—a feeling which being instinctive predominates over all others.

The chief aim of all governments is self-preservation.

A democratical government emanating from the people will have in view as its object the preservation of the people—an oligarchically sacerdotal government the conservation of the sacerdotal hierarchy of which it is the organ, and an absolute monarchical government will have for principal and exclusive aim the preservation of its throne.

The absolute throne and absolute altar will only look upon the people and upon God himself as useful and necessary instruments of their own conservation.

Those states in which the ecclesiastical

government is absolute and independent of their faithful subjects, and in which the civil government emanates from the people and is subject to its control, are in a most anomalous position,

The ecclesiastical absolute government will never lend its spiritual assistance to the civil constitutional governments, which either will or cannot in reciprocity abolish the liberty of the press and the progress of enlightenment the chief bugbears of all usurped authorities and of all despots temporal or spiritual.

The French who in 1830 overthrew the absolute throne and allowed the absolute altar to exist, appear to have rendered themselves amenable to the charge of inconsistency which could only be palliated on the plea of there existing insurmountable obstacles to any other course. The Catholic

religion may be the true religion but the Catholic hierarchy and its form of worship are incompatible with liberty. In the same way as the physical, so does the intellectual world and all civil, political, or ecclesiastical societies exist and manifest themselves by the equilibrium of their physical, intellectual, civil, political, or ecclesiastical strength. All that is not a force in itself is the instrument of some controlling force. In states and societies this is exercised and manifested by the power of making, interpreting, and executing laws. Now as in Austria the Kaiser only has the power of making, interpreting, and executing the civil and ecclesiastical laws, it follows that the Austrian priests and their flocks are only the religious instruments of the throne. It is blasphemy to confound religion with religious government or God with the priest—

the written law of God, or that which is manifested throughout the universe with the holy policy written in a catechism or a befehl. It is only men, virtuous, studious, and enlightened by the light of pure reason who penetrate the sanctuary of Divine legislation. Those who like owls only see clearly in that darkness which the brilliancy of the Divine light darkens for them, have never penetrated and never will penetrate the depths of the Divine code. The indolent who reclining voluptuously on their couches wait for the Almighty to descend from heaven into their cabinets, and reveal to them his laws and commands, and talk of having inspirations, are but shameless and blasphemous impostors.

God is just, and He has laid His code open for all the world to look therein. He would

be unjust and partial if He only revealed in secret, and only to a Moses or a Pope, the precepts, the knowledge and observances which are necessary to the salvation of the whole world.

The principles and end of true religion cannot and ought not to change. But the laws and dogmas of religious policy, or the means of teaching its principles, as well as of arriving at the supreme end, may, and must necessarily change and be adapted to the state of civilization of the period and people. The form of worship, that is to say the expression of our sentiments towards God, may differ, vary, be modified and improved.

The celebrated philosopher Kant thus defines religion.* “ *Religion is nothing more*

* Die religion ist nicht anderes, als gesetzgebung der vernunft, um der moral Durch, die aus

than the legislation of reason acting through the moral feelings arising from the self-produced idea of God, influencing the human will to fulfil its duties."

Religion is one of the four agents, which the temporal government employs, in order easily to govern the people.

It is impossible to govern conveniently without the aid of religion, which ought to form our hearts and render us virtuous.

The more free the administration of a country the more is virtue indispensable in its citizens. France is therefore more in want of real religion than the absolute Austrian Government which can replace it by the befehl or the stock.

The Christian religion in general, and the

dieser selbst erzeugte idee von gott auf den menschlichen willen zur erfüllung aller seiner Pflichten Einfluss zu geben.

Catholic more particularly, is a true religion because it has for basis the existence of one God and eternal life, as well as the object of rendering man virtuous ; but the ecclesiastical, Catholic, and A-catholic governments, and their policy, are destructive to liberty, and consequently to the virtue of the people, because these oligarchical or papistical governments being absolute and not emanating from the people, treat and look upon, and use, as their servile instrument, that God whose will and precepts can only be truly manifested through the voice of multitudes—*Vox populi vox Dei*.

The newspapers in the interest of the absolute thrones, and the priests themselves who complain that morals are becoming weak and corrupt, and that religion is not observed, confess and establish their own inefficacious inaptitude, and the pernicious in-

fluence of their holy policy and of their forms of worship, which no longer keep pace with the civilization of the age.

There are in Catholic countries thousands of priests, pulpits, and confessionals, which cost the people millions, and these priests, well fed and paid, proclaim in the face of the world that morals are corrupt, and that there is no religion. It is therefore now the duty of the temporal government and of those legislative bodies composed of fathers of families, and consequently more interested, than the unmarried priests, in the happiness and virtue of legitimate posterity, and in the eternal life of their country, to deliberate, discuss, and decide in the name of the people, that is to say, of God. Not on religion, or the necessity of worshipping God, but upon the mode in which He shall be worshipped, on the necessity, the number,

marriage or celibacy of the priests, on the form of the ecclesiastical government, on the authority and power of priests operating such miracles as condemning or absolving sins ; on the present necessity or utility of auricular confession, instituted in the Fourteenth Century, on analogy and connexion existing on the one hand between religion and its chief end, morality, and on the other, upon the authority of the priests arising from secret revelation and disapproved by the public revelation of God.

In Austria all forms of worship and all the attribution of the priests depend upon the good will of the Kaiser.

Crime and falsehood only have cause to hide themselves and tremble when reason speaks. The Christian religion does not fear but on the contrary seeks enlightenment or liberty of the press.

True religion as an intellectual force disdains the support of a temporal despotic government.

It does not oppose bayonets, the stock, the knout, or papal bulls to reason—it does not require secret revelations or miracles to render man virtuous and teach him to do unto others as he would that others should do unto him.

It is our blind faith and our ignorance, our genuflections before the priests which gave birth to their pride and unmeasured audacity and which are the source of all human calamities.

The Austrian priests are, like all the other officials, inhuman and haughty towards the people, servile and truckling to the Kaiser and his government, to whom they denounce all generous and virtuous men.

They preach every Sunday and prove by

their conduct that servile submission to the despot and his befehls is the first of all Catholic virtues. * A learned German observed to me that in Catholic countries the women confessed by unmarried priests have more personal and social dignity than the acatholic women, † English, German, or Russian ; but they, at the same time, mix

* Though the higher clergy in Galicia has proved itself servile to the Kaiser, the great bulk of this body has recently proved its humanity and patriotism. The clergy interfered between the peasantry and Austrian agents and other victims. One of these solemn processions was fired upon by the orders of the Austrian authorities and several hundreds of the inferior clergy are now imprisoned and being deliberately punished by Metternich, for this interference.

EDITOR.

† The particle A. is derived from the Greek and signifies non. The word Acatholic is commonly used in Austria.

themselves more in politics and intrigues. They have more dominion over their husbands than the acatholic women under the spiritual care of married priests, fathers of families.

“In England, Austria, Germany, and Russia, it is men of a cold and severe policy, married laymen or ecclesiastics who give the religion and dictate the national form of worship to the women ; on the contrary, the Italians, Spaniards, and you Catholic Poles,” said he, “receive the Latin faith from your women directed by unmarried confessors.” In the Catholic mode of worship there is nothing for the mind—all is sensuality materialism, luxury, etc. etc., because all that pleases the women who lead their husbands to the confessional.

The Marquis of C —, Catholic member of the Chamber of Deputies, author of

several pamphlets, appears to confirm this opinion of the learned acatholic, he says in his pamphlet entitled ‘*Feu ! Feu !*’ “ the
“ women have preserved that virility of soul
“ which men have lost in the debaucheries
“ of materialism and doubt.

“ Women have obtained that sort of influence which strong always obtain over
“ weak minds.”

The Marquis, under the surreptitious title of Timon, says furthermore, that the French Bishops are powerful because they are poor and do not frequent the courts of constitutional sovereigns, but of despots. But the Marquis does not say whether it would not be better if the Marchionesses, Countesses, and Viscountesses were to take their seats in the legislative chambers instead of their husbands, Counts, Viscounts, and other illustrations of despotism and

legislative authorities, who do not even suspect how they are led.

The people must be distinguished from the lay and ecclesiastical aristocracy. If the reproaches which the Marquesses and Jesuits make to France are addressed to the French people, they are revolting calumnies; but if only to the capitalists, of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the *soi disant* royal French nobility, then such reproaches may be just and merited.

In the same ratio that the French people in as regards virtue, morality, and love of country, above all the other countries of Europe, are the antinational nobility, and French jesuits below the nobles and priests of other countries. Never did the Polish, Russian, German, or English noblemen set themselves at the head of foreign bands to fight against their country. The

real French national nobility, since 1789, is the French people. Whilst the Catholic clergy of the country, driven by the courtiers of the nomade court, by the absolute sovereign of Rome, by Austrian agents and creatures, and by the Jesuits, will not submit to a constitutional or democratical government, and seeks to form a state within the state a government within the government.

The Austrian clergy, including the Jesuits, submit willingly to the despotic temporal government and to the befehls of the Kaiser, who protects all inhuman abuses and libertuide institutions.

The Kaiser is the visible head of all Religions and sects in his empire—to accustom his clergy and subjects to look upon him and venerate him as Pope, he exercises the functions of Pope.

Amongst other things he washes, himself, every Holy Thursday the feet of his twelve Apostles, and by a happy innovation inspired by revelation and approved of by the Jesuits and other gallant priests, his wife, the Kaiserinn washes the feet of twelve feminine Apostles. The authors of this last innovation are the Kaiser Francis First and his Vizier Metternich.

The Christian Religion is professed in Galicia by the following different sects ; Firstly, the Catholic ; Secondly, the Greek called Orthodox ; Thirdly the Protestant called Evangelical. The Catholic faith is subdivided into three branches : Firstly, the Roman Catholic or Latin : Secondly, the united Greek Catholic : Thirdly, the Armenian Catholic. All these sects are called Catholics because they acknowledge in the form at least the primacy of the Roman

Pontiff which is essential in order to merit the title of Catholic or universal signified by the Greek word *καθολικος* but there exists however a remarkable difference between these forms of worship.

The Roman Catholic resembles very nearly that of the French Catholics. The Austrian Priests wear black surplices and ordinary hats like laymen, off duty a dark coloured dress. Count Ankiewicz, Archbishop and *Primas Regni*, only dons his ecclesiastical costume in church, and when he walks out wears a fashionably cut coat, knee breeches, silk stockings, shoes *à la marquis*, and rouges his cheeks.

The Prelate is accompanied by a Deacon, and followed by one or two lacqueys or chasseurs ; the passers by salute him by uncovering their heads.

The Catholic Priests of other countries

have therefore reason to say that the Catholic religion is respected in Austria.

The Greek form of worship is divided into two branches ; Firstly, the united Greek or Catholic, and Secondly, the Greek not united called Schismatic.

The priests of the orthodox, united or Catholic branch, only differ from those of the non-united by acknowledging the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, whereas the priest of the non-united branch do not acknowledge it.

Both have a right founded on the gospel of contracting marriage, but only once, with a young person not a widow.

They both say mass in the Slavonian language, and communicate with wine and bread cut into small pieces.

They have the power of transubstantiation.

The Armenian Catholic Priests are all un-

married and say mass in the Armenian language.

In all else it resembles the Roman form. Each of these three Catholic sects has its Archbishopric at Leopold, so that there are three Catholic Archbishops in the same town, of which is afforded no other instance in the Catholic world.

The Catholic united Greek Bishop bears the title of metropolitan ; the Roman Archbishop the title of Primas Regni.

A Befehl of the Kaiser declares the Roman Catholic religion to be dominant (herrschende) and the enemies of Catholicism hence infer that the Catholic religion best suits despotism.

The Roman Catholic priests for this reason alone enjoy tithes or forced labour from the Polish Catholics or A Catholics. The Germans are not subject to this charge.

The Austrian Catholic catechism especially orders by the fifth church commandment the payment of tithes to the Roman Catholic Priests. Formerly the Christian religion was persecuted by the Kings, they now protect it, it is therefore no longer the same.

The Evangelical or Protestant religion is professed by Germans established in Poland, and protected by the government.

It has its ministers who are all married, and equal amongst themselves. They do not assume the power of transubstantiation. All the Evangelical ministers of the Austrian Empire depend upon the Evangelical Consistory which has its seat at Vienna.

The doors of their places of worship may not open into public streets.

All members of Protestant congregations can read, write and reckon.

Their schools are directed and superintended by the pastors themselves.

The Evangelical religion requires that every believer should be able to read and interpret the gospel of his own accord.

I was employed two years in the office of Ecclesiastical affairs, at the gubernium, and we received no complaints or denunciations on the part of ministers against their flocks relative to religion on ; the other hand, M. Ziegler, ex Jesuit, Catholic Bishop of Tarnow, and M. Pałocki, Roman Catholic Bishop of Przemyśl, loaded us with complaints against their flocks, and even against the subordinate priests.

The congregations and priests made reprisals.

A priest who had been persecuted and denounced by his Bishop, for living in the married state with a pompadour called

housekeeper, as is nearly universally practised in Austria, denounced, out of revenge, amongst other complaints to the Gubernium, that his Lordship Patocki was member of a family of a nomade and vagabond tribe, which is called in Polish, Cygan, and in German, Zigeuner, the greater part of whom are robbers ;* unfortunately his Lordship, to whom this complaint was communicated, could not give satisfactory explanation to the Gubernium. His physiognomy, accent, bearing and character gave considerable plausibility to the priest's accusation. To prevent the scandal which might have ensued, his Lordship was recalled to Vienna by the Aulic chancellery. M. Ziegler, confessor to the Empress Mother,

* Gipsies.

who used to denounce in a mass all patriotic and honest Poles, met with the same fate. I have already observed that all the Archbishops and greater part of the Bishops are intimate (secret) councillors of the Kaiser and his government.

In that capacity they are obliged to denounce to the Kaiser himself and his government all that may appear to them, or that they may deem detrimental or dangerous to his temporal or spiritual policy.

The Austrian Bishops never preach, they are rather instruments of the temporal policy and police rather than good clergymen.

The Bishops are therefore chosen from amongst the priests who have gone through a course of four years' theology, or rather hierology at Vienna, were they are taught *how to give religions their just political value*,

according to the expression used in the higher circles of the Austrian government. The orthodox A Catholics have a Bishop at Czer-niowa, and a few churches in the circle of the same name.

The Israelites, the number of whom in Galicia amounts to 300,000, have their synagogues and priests called Rabbis, distributed according to the parishes. During his journey through that province in 1817 the Kaiser Francis successively visited all Catholic and acatholic churches. On entering the Jewish synagogue the Kaiser uncovered himself, but it was remarked to him that the Jews remained with their heads covered ; the Kaiser then covered himself, presented himself before an altar prepared for him, and assisted at the Jewish ceremony for more than three quarters of an hour. The greater part praised this conduct of their sovereign, and said that all the kings of the earth ought to

imitate this example—that all religions, Jewish, German, Anglican, Roman or Greek, may be equally good, and that God understands all languages, but the more fervent Christians were shocked, and the report was even spread that the Habsburgs were of Jewish origin, that they emigrated from Africa in the ninth or tenth Century, and established themselves as traders in Switzerland, where they became rich, and acquired the favour of the German Sovereigns who made them Counts.

When a living is vacant, the patron lord has a right of presenting a candidate to the bishop, but he is also obliged to furnish materials for the construction and repairs of the church and glebe house.

The parishioners furnish the work—the government contributes nothing.

Since the Austrian Invasion, many churches

and convents have been suppressed, or converted into storehouses of hay and straw, or into barracks.

All the Christian priests receive salaries from the government—the archbishops receive £600, bishops £400, canons £100 a year; the curates, from £30 to £40, and the vicar, from £14 to £20 a year. All the Roman Catholic bishops, and most of the canons and curates are in the enjoyment of tithes, and possess towns and villages subject to the *robot*. The Roman Catholic archbishop of Leopold enjoys a clear income of £8000 per annum.

The government only pays to the clergy the portion which is wanting to make up the above mentioned salaries. The tithes, forced labour, voluntary offerings of the parishioners, such as bread, honey, payment for masses, marriages and burials, fees,

etc. etc., are reckoned up in a niggardly manner by the authorities of the Circles, estimated higher than the real value, and subtracted from the incomes of the clergy.

When the amount of these tithes and perquisites exceeds the stipulated amount of salary, then the clergyman is obliged to pay all the direct and indirect taxes.

The income of a vacant curacy returns to the Kaiser, under the denomination of religious or intercalary fund. The archbishopric of Leopold was only given to M. Ankiewicz several years after the death of his predecessor, by which delay the Kaiser gained nearly £40,000. All the property of the suppressed churches and convents belong to the Kaiser, as supreme guardian of religious creeds. The curates keep the registers of births, deaths, and marriages. They are looked upon as public functionaries; other bishops have

also the right of forbidding a curate to officiate, but the gubernium decides when it is a question of suspending his salary or emoluments. In all the Catholic and A Catholic churches there are benches. They do not let out chairs for hire during mass, as in other Catholic churches. In general the Austrian clergy is, past comparison, better instructed than the Catholic clergy of other countries, who are abandoned soul and body to the bishops, who make of them the most docile, ignorant, superstitious, and fanatical instruments. The Catholic clergyman of other countries makes no other answer to political, or philosophical objections than signing the cross, turning his back, or taking to his breviary or catechism, which, like the Pharisee, he carries at all times and everywhere. The Austrian priest, on the contrary, who has studied mathematics,

natural philosophy, and rhetoric, under lay professors, holds more with the world than the body of priests ; he is more independent of the bishop, than the priests of other countries ; he does not seek, but if he meet he boldly struggles with the difficulties of religion. He disposes of his arguments and sophisms, according to the rules of logic, puts them into the form of a syllogism, then launches didactically forth his *sorites*, and dexterously envelopes his opponent or interlocutor in his terminology and his dilemmas, as a spider envelops a fly in its web and always gains the victory over a less skillful antagonist.

The priests of other countries, instead of reasoning, find it more convenient to anathematise and excite against you, women and fools whom they have fanaticised. The blindness, and error of the Catholic priests of

foreign countries arise from the fact of their religion having the exclusive end of maintaining their own hierarchy, whereas the end of the Austrian religion is the consecration of the despotic throne.

The Austrian priests who speak and act in the interest of others, show themselves calmer and more disinterested, and find by these means more credit with the faithful.

It is remarked in Gallicia that the united Greek Catholic priests are distinguished by their profound erudition, and that they value more the liberty and happiness of the people than the legitimacy of despotism, because they are married and have children, whose happiness they have more at heart than the interests of the throne. They even pretend to prove by experience, that those sworn to celibacy ought to be excluded from professorship and legislation.

The Austrian Government therefore makes use of the Jesuits to convert them to Roman Catholicism.

The Austrian government has, above all, at heart the wish of abolishing in the Greek church the Slavonian language and substituting the latin tongue, that she may ultimately replace the Slavonian priests by Germans, as it has long since practised in the Roman church.

The Poles instead of seconding this German and Jesuitical tendency ought rather to request the Pope to allow the marriage of Roman Catholic priests and the introduction of the Polish language in the liturgy instead of the Latin tongue, which renders their religion autocratical, and separates the people, who do not understand the latin tongue, from the priests and lords.

To make proselytes, the Jesuits and Roman Catholics do not fail to set forth that the

united Greek religion is only a religion of the lower orders, whereas the Roman Catholic is professed by so many Princes and Kings, and by the Kaiser and his court. Almost all the Poles who are become fashionable, embrace the religion of the Austrian court and abandon that of their ancestors—in fact experience proves that there is more aristocracy of feeling in constitutional France than in absolute and Protestant Germany ; and there was and is more aristocracy and tyranny towards the people in Catholic Poland than in Ecclesiastical Russia.*

* Bad as may be the condition of the Slavonic peasantry under the Roman Catholic government of Austria, and in Silesia under the Lutheran government of Prussia, it is far worse under the rule of Russia which belong to the Greek faith. The peasantry are only serfs in the two former states, but slaves in the latter.

EDITOR.

It is generally pretended that the province of the Jesuits is to maintain the Catholic religion in its purity, or to re-establish it, and also to maintain the supremacy and infallibility of the Pope.

Their assertions and conjectures are refuted by reason and by facts. Jesuitism is of Austrian invention, and the Jesuits are only agents of the Kaisers of Habsburgh and of despotism in general. It was during the reign of the Austrian Princes that the inquisition lit its funeral piles in Spain. It was also under the reign of Charles the Fifth of Habsburgh, Emperor of Germany, and King of Spain, that Ignatius Loyola founded, in 1534, a new institution; after some slight difficulties, which were smoothened by the Kaiser, Pope Paul III. approved it, under the name of clerks of the company of Jesus. Certainly at that period of Austrian Despotism in

Spain, Loyola would not have dared or been able to establish this institution without the consent of his sovereign. At the time that this institution was founded, the religion, that is to say the power of the Popes and Priests, was at its apogee.

The inquisition or holy office and supremacy were in full vigour. Religion, as Priests understand it, did not require the assistance of this institution, it must therefore have been founded from motives purely temporal and political.

In fact, to lower Catholic France the Jesuits have opened the road in the East to schismatical England, the natural ally of Austria ; to deliver over to Austria and the Germans the Poles, generous but imprudent defenders of Catholicism, the Jesuits lit the torch of civil war.

They fanaticised the Catholic Poles and

excited them against the Protestant and orthodox Poles, but what proves that the object of the Jesuits was not the propagation of the Catholic religion is that, at the time they were exciting the Poles against the Poles, they tolerated and favoured the German Jews in Poland.

They were merely the servile instruments of the Kaisers whose policy with regard to Poland required the establishment of German Jews and the extirpation of the Poles of the Greek faith.

We will descend to the origin of catholicism in Poland, that our readers may judge by themselves of the pernicious influence exercised by the Kaisers, Popes and Jesuits in the political and religious affairs of this country.

Catholicism, that is to say Papal supremacy, was introduced and acknowledged in

Poland, in 965, by the Polish Woiwode, Duke Mieczyslas, who, as a recompense, received from the Pope and Germanic Sovereigns, the title of King.

Before the introduction of Catholicism, and even before the birth of Christ, the Polish Slavonians, comprised by the Greek and Roman historians, under the denomination of Scythians, or wild men, professed and practised the Christian precepts ; but they had no priests, because it appeared to them more proper to pray to the Almighty, and to worship him personally.

They thought that the most important affair, the salvation of the soul, ought not to be treated by mercenary priests, or by hirelings, but by themselves.

They had no temples, because in their simplicity they looked upon the entire uni-

verse as God's temple : they believed that God was everywhere, and that he sees all things. They were hospitable and virtuous, Herodotus, Justinian, Horace, Plutarch, Lucian, Strabo, and others render justice to them on this point, under the denomination of Scythians.

The Slavonian inhabitants of the Volga asked for Christian Bishops from the Emperor Michael the stammerer, who sent them, in 858, Constantine of Thessalonica, known by the name of Cyril.

The Slavonian Prince Ratislaw or Rastiz, Sovereign of Moravia, summoned from Constantinople the Bishops Methodius and Cyril in 863, and drove away the German Catholic Bishop, who only preached the Catholic religion amongst the Slavonians to render them tributary.

Louis the German had the eyes torn out of the Slavonian Prince Ratislaw, who endeavoured to throw off the German yoke, and his treasure was pillaged and transported to Bavaria, (870).

Under the reign of Arnulfe, the German army overran Moravia, overthrowing, burning or destroying all that crossed their path (893). Wishing to augment the influence of the Latin Bishops, by increasing their wealth, Otto had rendered them odious to the Slavonian nations, the sweat of whose brow paid the cost of this display—and Catholicism, which rendered them tributaries of the priests, inspired them with the same hatred towards the German nation, which took this religion under its direction and patronage—"for the Saxons had more at heart to receive tributes than the salva-

tion of souls, and though born of Christian ancestors they were found vain and sterile in the work of the Lord." Helmodi Chroni. cap. 12 et 22.

A P P E N D I X.



VOL. I.

A P P E N D I X .

(NOTE TO PAGE 56.)

*The constitution decreed by the last Polish
general diet.*

ALREADY on the 7th of September, 1789, a deputation was appointed which was to draw up the constitutional charter. The opposition, not ceasing to annoy the diet, originated the discussion on the fundamental laws (Kardinalne) which were distinguished from the constitution as the vital principle

of the republic's existence. On this occasion the conservation of the integrity of the country, without the least infringement of the limits of the republic, passed without opposition. The other fundamental articles underwent great discussion. It was asked in the month of December, 1789, that the deputation, charged with the new constitution, should submit to the deliberation of the diet, the basis of the future charter.

This basis was presented in the form of eight articles and the debates which followed became complicated by intermixture with the discussions on the fundamental laws.

At the sitting of the 29th of March, 1790, the eight articles were however unanimously agreed to and sanctioned. A question was mooted as grave, as delicate, that of changing the elective into an hereditary throne. It silenced the prolonged debates on the fun-

damental laws and was sent from the Diet to the Dietines in order that the whole nation might participate in a decision of such high importance.

Length of the Debates—their Publicity.

THE debates of the Diet, constantly maintained since two years, more solemn than all those preceding them, by their great length, drew from the whole of Poland and Lithuaina towards the capital an immense concourse of citizens, anxious to follow closely the important work of saving their country. The population of the capital increased about one third.

Every day numerous crowds assembled in the halls of public discussion. They bore the title of arbitrators, as if they had been sent by public opinion to hear and appreciate the deliberations, and to be reporters of what was passing in the interior of the chambers. They did in fact disseminate the different opinions given by the representatives of the nation, and their debates. Through the voice of these auditors, and that of the public journals, the tribune found everywhere an echo.

The press, at the same time, greatly assisted the civic work, as the intermedium through which the statesmen and other citizens whose thoughts were pre-occupied with questions of moment, anxiously scrutinized them, and communicated to the public their own ideas and views which were sought with avidity. Every important project that was to be pre-

sented to the Diet was previously weighed, supported or opposed in the private conversations of families, in civic meetings, and by numerous writers (51). The subjects of discussion were always multiplying, and kept in activity the general attention. The clergy and its property, the starosties, towns, their form of government, the hereditary nature of the throne, the elections, the form of the debates of the Diet, jurisdiction, relations with neighbouring courts, their intrigues, the policy of Europe in general, gave rise to numerous discussions, as much in inferior as in more considerable publications, which came to the assistance of the serious deliberations of the Diet. Public opinion was previously forcibly pronounced on each project which was to be submitted to the decision of the representatives, thus their opinion was the opinion of the nation.

Wybicki Staszic the Rzevuski, Francis and James Jezierski, Makulski, and many others devoted themselves to the task of preparing, informing, and instructing the public mind. Bars, Mendrzecki, and other authors, by their historical lucubrations on the ancient rights of towns, powerfully contributed to the acceptation of the law concerning towns and burghs. The writings of Severin Rzevuski, and Albert Turski advocates of an elective throne, were refuted by Hugh Kollantai, Thadeus Morski, and others who maintained the hereditary principle. The nation read all these publications, because familiar with the contradictory opinions and prepared themselves to deliberate and decide on the most delicate question concerning a prerogative which had been preserved, with an extreme jealousy, since several Centuries.

*New Diet re-united to the old hereditary
nature of the throne.*

A decision had been again come to, on the proposition of Michael Zaleski, Nuncio of Troki, on the 29th November, 1778, that the Diet would be prolonged as long as was necessary ; when, however, the two years of the sitting had expired, and that the period of an ordinary Diet, which must have been as usual preceded by the Dictines, approached, the question of the time of duration of the Diet was resumed. The opposition wished to profit by this opportunity in order to dissolve the Diet, that the one which was about being called together might have an open field. But the confederates of the Diet found an expedient

which frustrated the efforts of the opposition, and the proposition was put to the vote; one hundred and fifteen votes against sixteen declared for the continuation of the confederated Diet until the 7th of Feb. 1791, in order to leave the newly elected Nuncios sufficient time to unite themselves to the old ones, who were to give them useful and necessary information on the march of affairs—and better to prepare their minds for the important decisions which were to be made before their separation. The Dietines therefore occupied themselves with the choice of Nuncios to the Diet, and then took into consideration the hereditary nature of the throne. They approved of all the decisions of the confederated Diet, they accepted the hereditary propositions, and chose Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, and grandson of Augustus the

Third King of Poland, as presumptive successor to the King and chief of the dynasty who in his person was to occupy the throne on the death of Stanislas Augustus. It was declared that in the event of his being without male descendents, his daughter, the Infanta, should be looked upon as successor to the throne of the Republic. The election being terminated, the new Nuncios arrived at Warsaw the 16th of December 1790, and united themselves to the members of the sitting Diet. The grand confederated Diet thus prolonged its debates with a double number of members, because the old ones continued to sit, even after the 7th of Feb. 1791. They began by doing away with the fundamental laws of the 20th of Dec. 1790, and the old question of the Dietines was resumed, the discussion of which recommenced on the 7th of May 1790. It was

only terminated three months after its resumption the 24th of March 1791. At the same time another law on the towns and Burghesses was resolved on the 18th of April 1791.

Burghers admitted to the enjoyment of Political Rights, 1791.

THE Burghers in reclaiming the re-establishment of their ancient rights, proved by documents that they were formerly in the enjoyment of representation, and appealed to the intelligence and the judgment of the legislators, before whom they were certain of finding justice. The deliberating nobility

understood very well that it had before it the high mission of repressing anarchical abuses, of correcting the institutions established in its favour to the detriment of other classes of the nation—it therefore undertook this task with calmness, and though anxious to preserve its own immense prerogatives, did not show itself jealous of the Burghers. A law was in consequence promulgated, by which not only the ancient prerogatives and privileges of the Burghers were re-established in all their plentitude, but which equalised also representation of the Burghers with that of the nobility in the chambers, and which admitted gradually and partially the Burgher classes to the civic prerogatives of the nobility. In order to attain this object with greater facility it was suggested to Suchorzevski, Nuncio of Kalisz, how much benefit his party would derive from appropriating and

supporting this project of law. He was induced seriously to take it up, thinking by this step really to gain the Burgher class and its representatives for the Branicki party, and to turn, at the same time, the public feeling against the patriots, who would not fail to attack this proposition, if he charged himself with it. This clever deception of a declared partizan of Russia, contributed considerably to the success and acceleration of the decision. In virtue of this law the deputies of the towns took their seats in the Diet directly, and seated themselves at the side of the noble Nuncios. The national representation in the confederated Diet, already doubled, thus saw itself still further increased.

The Constitution of 1791 agreed upon.

The substance and basis of the constitution, drawn up by the deputation appointed for this object, was known, but the following articles remained unknown to the deputation. In the mean time the exterior political changes in diplomacy which were taking place began to alarm Poland.

The friendly courts assumed an unquiet attitude, with which the unknown project of a republican and charter had inspired them. At this period the debates were carried on with slowness and languor.

In consideration of the external relations of the state, it became necessary to accelerate the march of events, and clear up this

gloomy state of things by the promulgation of the projected changes.

The King was of the same opinion and the 5th of May was agreed and definitively fixed upon to this effect, without the opposite party being informed of it ; but Stanislas Augustus, confiding the secret to those in whom he placed trust, informed Hyacinth Malachowski, chancellor of the crown, he communicated it to the partisans of Branickis, who spread the alarm. At this crisis their party took upon itself to disturb the deliberations. To this end it ordered its agents to arm the multitude. The patriots and King being informed of this, and in order to prevent the scandal which would ensue, anticipated, by two days, the ceremony of the proclamation of the new constitution. On the eve of that day, that is to

say, on the evening of the second of May, when they were assembled in the Radzivil palace, to read through confidentially this act, partisans of the opposition, and strangers to the Diet, surreptitiously obtained admittance. When the perusal was finished they learnt that these individuals were endeavouring to indispose public opinion by blaming and calumniating every where the act which they had just heard read. In order to baffle any sinister attempt which their adversaries might have prepared, and not to compromise the public tranquillity, they at night again assembled in the house of the venerable Marshal Malachowski. The assembled members, after having assured themselves of an absolute majority, following the example of Adam Krasinski, Bishop of Kamienice, signed the declaration of abstaining from all

superfluous motions, and to remove all incidents, which might tend to retard the acceptance of the constitution—

On the morning of the third of May, 1791, the avenues, passages, staircases, and court yard of the royal castle, where the Diet assembled, were filled by an immense concourse of people. Each one went imbued with a religious sentiment of confidence in a happy issue ; Marshal Malachowski, and the Nuncio of Cracow, Stanislas Soltik, invited the deputation of foreign affairs to render an account of the exterior policy of the republic. Its report did not pass without observation ; Suchorzevski nuncio of Kalisz, interrupting the perusal on several occasions, succeeded in making a scenical demonstration ; having at his side a son hardly six years of age, he dragged himself

to the foot of the throne on his knees, declaring that he would rather sacrifice his son than allow the immolation of national liberty. Having obtained a hearing by this theatrical step, he felt obliged to accuse the party who were about to propose the constitution, of sedition and plotting against his life. When he had terminated his discourse, the reading of the report of the deputation was continued. Its contents were full of sinister augury. Peace was on the eve of being concluded between Russia and Turkey. The bad faith and perfidy of a power which called itself the friend of Poland was manifest, and traces were discovered of the degeneracy of certain Poles in the pay of foreigners.

Ignatius Potocki, Marshal of the court, addressed himself to Stanislas Augustus and

called upon him to propose the most efficacious means of saving the country, the King indicated it by the publication and acceptation of the prepared constitution.

After a short debate its perusal was immediately proceeded with.



*The Constitution is proclaimed and accepted
the 3rd of May 1791*

WHEN the perusal was completed the opposition broke out into murmurs, and in arguing against the project, lost several hours of valuable time. It was answered laconically and with precision ; a few dissentient voices only were feebly heard when Zabiello, Nuncio

solicited the king and assembled states to take oath to the new constitution without delay. This proposition was received with universal acclamations, and at the same time all the members of the Diet threw themselves spontaneously at the foot of the throne, in order to testify their respect for the majesty of their chief. The king immediately called the Bishop of Cracow, Turski, to take oath ; having sworn, he descended from the throne, directing his steps towards the church, with him the Senate, the nuncios, dignitaries, employès, the court, and an immense crowd of people hurried towards the Altar of the Most High, where the representatives of the nation solemnly took oath. Hardly a dozen amongst them hesitated, and remained in the hall, which was abandoned by every one. But even these gave in their adhesion by a particular act ; when

in the sitting of the 5th of May, Joseph Kossakowski, Bishop of Livonia, proposed to pass the new constitution by a majority of voices. Conformably to his request it was three times put to the question (*ad Turnum*), and three times sanctioned unanimously, without any voice being raised against it. The joy and happiness of the capital spread with rapidity throughout the whole country. The hearts of all Poles were filled with the most elevated sentiments at the accomplishment of such a work, which was to demonstrate to Europe, and the entire world, that the Polish nation was able to effect its political regeneration of its own accord, that it perfectly understood its rights and knew how to maintain and preserve its liberty in harmony with the monarchical principle, to which it seemed inclined to render homage, for such was the opinion of the moment.

After a lapse of nine months since the epoch of the proclamation, a period devoted to mature examination of the general opinion, the citizens united on the 14th of February 1792, at the Dietines, accepted everywhere unanimously the new constitution and swore to defend it.

Hugh Kollontai, Vice Chancellor of the Crown, and Ignatius Potocki, Marshal of the Court of Lithuania, had contributed, the most actively, not only to the drawing up of this constitution, but also to influencing opinion as much in the interior of the Diet as with the public and also in directing the execution of this great act.

Government Charter, 1791.

THE constitutional charter known by the name of constitution of the third of May bore the title of fundamental law. According to the dispositions of this law the Catholic remains the religion of the state ; other forms of worship are exercised freely, but the King must be of the Roman Catholic faith. The throne is considered hereditary. The nobles preserve their ancient privileges and there exists between them a perfect equality. The royal towns are free and send their deputies to participate in the deliberations of the Diet. These deputies at the expiration of the second year of their functions are ennobled, The same favor is granted to the inferior grades of the public service civil or military enjoyed by the burghers.

The agricultural class of peasants is taken under the especial protection of the law, in order that its individual liberty may be respected and guaranteed against arbitrary proceedings. The legislative power rests with the two chambers of the Diet which assembles every two years. At this period it must assemble without being convened, but it must also always be ready to assemble wherever its marshal may convoke it in any urgent cases pre-determined by law. The chamber of deputies composed of landed nuncios and deputies from the towns represents all the national sovereignty. The laws which are there deliberated upon and decreed pass to the deliberation of the senatorial chamber, composed of Bishops, palatines, Castellans, and ministers at the head of whom is the king as president. The plurality of voices decides everywhere. Certain laws are sanctioned by

the united suffrage of both chambers. Thus they conjointly decide. Others are sent to be sanctioned by the senate who can stop their promulgation until the votes of the next Diet. In case of parity of suffrages the king has the casting vote ; the executive power confided to the King is divided into administrations of national education, police war, and treasury. There is for the King's supreme executive power a council called the law-guard (*straz*) composed of six ministers wherein the King presides and decides. His decisions are there countersigned by one of the ministers. The King possesses the right of appointing senators for life, and other dignitaries, employés and ministers, without the power of removing them from their functions, because they are responsible to the nation. During the interval which elapses between one diet and another,

the King, conjointly with his council, is invested with the power of making temporary regulations and of concluding provisional treaties.

The separate and independent judicial authority is exercised by elective judges. Territorial, justice belongs to the nobility. The referendary jurisdiction for the peasantry and towns preserves its particular administration of justice. The tribunals of appeal for the nobility, and the assessorial tribunals for the towns constitute the supreme courts. State crimes and accused ministers are judged by the High Court of the Diet ; which High Court is permanently appointed between the sittings of the Diet. The *liberum veto* and the confederations are suppressed for ever. Every five and twenty years a revision and amelioration of the constitution will be discussed in a

Diet extraordinary convoked for this especial purpose.

The republican democracy restricted to the noble masses experienced in its institutions a great shock in the 17th and 18th Centuries. The sovereignty of the ennobled masses had to struggle with monarchical pretensions. Its principle of equality with aristocratical exceptions, its spirit of fraternity, with religious animosities and intolerance, its independence with foreign influence. Those institutions which were guardians of liberty became disfigured. The Rokosh, the veto, the confederations, and even the Diets and the whole body of the nobles lost their vigour, and saw escape from their hands all the powerful instruments of their sovereignty—cries were raised on all sides against the monstrous situation of the

republic, against the vices which tyrannized over it. This state of things was deplored, and preparations were laid made to remedy the evil; plans were down for this object; some wished to correct what was bad, others to reform and substitute good for evil. To correct was to support the republic and its institutions, substitution of another order was to overturn the republic and establish a monarchy in its stead. Parties gathered in these two opinions and each one approached more or less towards its object without being able to attain it. In the mean time all the springs of the republic were loosened and distended.

During this perplexity the confederation of Bar was formed, it had in the beginning no other aim than the national independence—but the confederates having taken refuge on a foreign soil at Teschen and Eperies, watched at a distance, the destinies of their country.

with an attention which induced them to reflect on its future organization. In the hope of some day triumphing they formed plans and discussed whether it was necessary to correct only or to re-organize or transform. For this end they sought the assistance and councils of foreigners. Vielhorski representative of the confederation in France, in order to enlighten foreigners on the state of his country's institutions, communicated to several of them a picture of the Government of Poland, and he asked in the name of the confederates the advice of distinguished writers, amongst others Mercier de la Riviere, the Abbé Mably, and Jean, Jacques Rousseau, wrote their reflections on the government of Poland. The confederates having succumbed these works remained in possession of the Poles, and served them for guidance and council. Two of these documents are

peculiarly worthy of the notice of those who investigate the question of Polish legislation. Their writers have an immense influence on the destiny of Poland, their works on its government became the point of departure of the diverging opinions, which were disputed in the national legislative assemblies, Jean Jacques Rousseau, author of the social contract philosopher and writer, was citizen of a small republic. The Abbé Mably, a scrutinizing historian and writer, the subject of a despotic monarchy. They passed their opinions on the republican institutions and communicated their observations and councils towards 1771, at the request of Vielhorski. The philosopher's diction is more energetic, animated and concise, without regarding the person of the Count Vielhorski whom he wishes to obey, he analyses the subject and discusses it. The Abbé Mably acquits him-

self of his task more like a courtier. Full of politeness, he addresses himself continually to the Count what he has the honor to tell him, and he takes the liberty of representing it to him without avoiding numerous repetitions. He is diffuse and, notwithstanding the interest of his subject, feeble. They both agree that Poland must remain a republic and become consolidated into an aristocratical republic. They both wish to restrain the royal authority which appears to be too preponderating in Poland, and establish the election of Senators. They both pray for the enfranchisement of the humiliated people—at the same time they allege, as an excuse of any imperfection in their view, an insufficient knowledge of the country.

The republican of Geneva admiring the grandeur of the curious spectacle which presents itself to him of the reflection of old ideas on such a gigantic scale, admiring the

depth of thought of institutions adapted his theory of the social contract, he remarks a few imperfections in the details, and seeks to maintain and ameliorate these institutions, and to animate and infuse energy into their actions. The other finding a republic will not derogate from its existence ; he however sees all the vices of its institutions, and is continually attacking its pernicious laws, customs, and prejudices. He discusses, combats, and traces by gradual and easy steps a plan of general amelioration. He shows transitory means, he invents plans which are to produce a radical metamorphosis, and saps the national basis in order to remodel and organize a representative monarchy.

The writer, Mably, establishes an hereditary throne, wishes absolutely to divide the powers and to centralize the motion of the

machine. He abrogates the veto, abolishes the confederation, reduces to silence the anti-comital Dietines, and seeks to dispel dissension, and to repress the passions. The republican philosopher, on the contrary, likes liberty, incompatible with rest. He maintains the election of chief of the state, he wishes to organize and strengthen the confederations, he seeks to utilize the veto, he is inclined to decentralize the administration, he neither fears what is called anarchy nor the result of passions to which he deems that useful direction may be given. The Abbe conceals a rigid morality under a very unassuming form, but he is inconstant and without fixedness in his political conceptions—bitter against political crimes he endeavours to silence the wicked without thinking of the consequent loss of that liberty which he so highly prizes. The philosopher, full of

vice and incontinence cherishes the human species, rejoices at its flexibility, admires its elevated sentiments, and leaves free scope to human passion, good and evil, thereby to ensure that liberty of which he is enamoured.

The Abbe, organizing the machine according to his own doctrine, desires to have good inns for travellers. a flourishing commerce, he investigates the diplomatic relations of the day, and arranges the external affairs. Rousseau dissuades from having strong places which are the nests of tyrants, is pleased with national rusticity and descends to the elements of primary education, morals, and the appreciations of the springs of civic action. The first speaks with coolness and reflective, the other with a warm and courageous heart ; the first subjugates the man to the law, the second makes his virtue act.

Jean Jacques Rousseau advised only to correct, Mably to transform. Unfortunately Poland was too much disposed to this latter measure. The voice of the philosopher, the love of old institutions did not suffice any longer to calm the fear which caused, and nothing but the march of events since the fall of the confederation of Bar has better proved the assertion, "that the Poles will reject with indignation a law which in ten or twelve years they will receive with acclamations, if their prejudices are respected, if they are conducted with prudence, and encouraged not to fear, but rather seek the truth" (Mably + 10). After twenty years (1771-1791), the abuse of vain precept gaining possession of the minds of the creators of the constitution of the third of May, gained the upper hand and seduced the whole nation which abjured its belief

and vigour before the new forms which were to save the existence of the country. The two foreign writers who had been consulted on the subject were not living when the constitution of the 3rd of May was decreed. In more modern times (1787), Bentham went through Poland, and was flattered at being also consulted on the question of national legislation ; I do not know what his advice was—or whether it was followed—whether he was satisfied with the results which the said constitution offered. Perhaps if he had lived the Abbè Mably might have approved its composition—perhaps he might have considered it a transitory model, useful to ulterior reforms ; under this point of view at least this model found admirers and apologists. “Of all the constitutions established since fifty years, this is, with the exception of the North

American the oldest ; faults would therefore be more excusable," said Reumer, professor of the university of Berlin in 1830, " than in those cases where a long experience have been afforded, more favourable circumstances, or where people were more advanced in civilization. What glory is it not therefore for the Poles to have been able to extricate themselves from the most unfavourable and horrible position, to the remedying which, the adoption of the most desperate means would have demanded our indulgence, to have known how to give itself a constitution in which, more than in any more recent essay, the true principles of reason and political science appeared to be realized, by reconciling the past, present, and future."

The moderate men of that epoch rendered homage to that legislative work, the cele-

brated orator of Great Britain, Burke said, on this subject, "Humanity may rejoice and glorify itself when it considers the change which has taken place in Poland. Nothing is mean in it. This change is of so high a nature that it will prove the greatest and most noble boon ever granted to the human species. We have seen the throne strengthened by the love of the nation without offending liberty,"—and he proceeds to give his approbation in detail.

Fox called the constitution of the third of May a work which all the friends of reasonable liberty ought to regard with sincere attachment. The Prussian ex-minister Hertzerg in a treatise which he read to the Berlin academy the sixth of October, 1790, praises its wisdom. Volney in his *Ruins* felicitates, with good faith Poland, with being the only eastern country which on the thirty-first of

May escaped from the reproaches consequent on the incorrigible oppression under which the peasantry groan. The merits of this constitution were of less importance in the eyes of other observers. Thomas Payne, considering the Polish constitution as an insignificant act, admits that the Polish government and citizens wished to give an example of reform made of themselves by themselves. Other orators and writers, whose sweeping ideas demanded a radical transformation of the social state, were violently incensed against the Polish legislation. Those of France in particular, then shaking the whole fabric of society, and operating in their own country that enormous change, the result, nor ulterior consequences, of which they could neither calculate nor foresee, severely reprobated this movement of moderation and concession. A member of the convention,

Garrande Coulon, *Recherches Politiques*, son la Pol. v. 14. saw only, in 1793, in Mably's work on the government of Poland, miserable projects of repairing an edifice, defective in its foundations, which will certainly cover with its ruins the short-sighted architects who shall undertake to repair it. After all he says the system of the Abbè Mably was not better calculated for the nobles themselves than for the Polish people, and what he says of Mably's work relates to the constitution of 1791, which has principally adopted these bases. This diversity of opinion depended on the views taken of the constitution by these writers, and it may be remarked that they formed their judgment according as they sought the completeness in the rude and sudden amelioration of the social state of the whole population, or the best mode of reforma-

tion. None of them have considered the principles they were about to establish relatively to those they were about to abrogate, certainly the constitution of 1791, relatively to the social state, presents only narrow issues, distant expectations, and vague promises ; on other subjects it is more explicit and well merits closer examination.

Macintosh admired the quiet and majestic reform of the government. In fact it is almost impossible to find anything similar in the annals of the world. This grave, and long-matured step in which the whole nation participated with a unanimity and conviction proof against everything—this dexterity of the framers of the constitution in directing the national conscience are assuredly so imposingly extraordinary, that it is impossible not to be astonished—not to bow one's own conceptions before this major

force which directs toward a common end the whole nation, its Diet, Dietines, writers, legislators, and all its classes. A more rigorous investigation indeed may perhaps serve to shew us that this general assent of the nation is derived rather from resignation. One is, however, moved at the sight of so many sacrifices, so much grandeur, and disposed to excuse and pity the errors into which they fell.

It is always with a feeling of pain that I contemplate this deviation from the ancient principle which the nation and the representatives sanctioned by their supreme will. For it is a fact that the republic was metamorphosed into a monarchy, they made the republican institutions subordinate to dynastic dominations. "An hereditary throne and liberty for the nation are incompatibilities," cried the philosopher in warn-

ing the Poles of their danger. Many arguments were, however, exhausted at this epoch, many sophisms circulated to sap the foundations of this high maxim. The dangers of disturbances, and of foreign influence at the elections was the argument which to the reason of the nation appealed most forcibly ; as if the annals of the world of all periods did not offer a picture of greater calamities, and disorders of longer duration, on the occasion of dynastic quarrels which are perpetuated from generation to generation.

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